THE TIMES
LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

T·L·S

15 JANUARY 1971
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INDEX OF BOOKS REVIEWED

H. Belloc: *Complete Verse*	56
Princesse Bibesco: *La Comtesse et les poetes*	62
H. Blyth: *Skittles*	62
I. Brett: *Parameters and Images*	60
The British Library	53
Brunel's Tubular Suspension Bridge Over The River Wye	77
M. Budd: *Fit for a Duchess*	77
Cambridge Latin Course Unit I	66
E. Canetti: *Die vergendete Verehrung. Der andere Prozess: Kafkas Briefe an Felice*	67
J. Casson and others: *Art and Confrontation*	55
R. Church: *A Harvest of Mushrooms*	70
P. Cornwell: *Creative Playmaking in the Primary School*	77
H. E. J. Cowdrey: *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*	76
R. Crawshay-Williams: *Russell Remembered*	62
K. Dale: *Brahms*	77
E. Devons: *Papers on Planning and Economic Management*	74
L. E. Doucette: *Emery Bigot, Seventeenth-Century French Humanist*	70
B. F. Duckham: *A History of the Scottish Coal Industry Vol. I*	77
A. Fowler: *Triumphal Forms*	70
R. Freeman: *The Faerie Queene*	70
P. F. Ganz (Editor): *The Discontinuous Tradition*	74
W. George: *Animals and Maps*	61
C. Ginzburg: *Il nicodemismo*	76
A. Gregory: *Me and Nu: Childhood at Coole*	62
C. Hadfield and G. Biddle: *The Canals of North West England*	75
O. and N. Hamilton: *Royal Greenwich*	75
S. Hannema: *Fads, Fakes and Fantasies*	60
J. Hibbs: *Transport Studies*	77
R. Hill (Editor): *On the Frontiers of Islam*	59
P. M. Holt: *The Mahdist State in the Sudan 1881-1898*	53
G. Hugo: *Appearance and Reality in International Relations*	63
H. H. Humphrey: *The Political Philosophy of the New Deal*	65
J. J. Kirby: *A Guide to Historical Periodicals in the English Language*	77
A. H. T. Levi (Editor): *Humanism in France*	70
J. W. Lewis (Editor): *Party Leadership and Revolutionary Power in China*	65
M. J. T. Lewis: *Early Wooden Railways*	75
S. Macdonald: *The History and Philosophy of Art Education*	60
P. A. Macnab: *The Isle of Mull*	77
R. A. Markus: *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St Augustine*	76
H. Marsh: *Dark Age Britain*	77
K. Marx: *Critique of Hegel's "Philosophy of Right". Early Texts*	53
A. S. Milward: *The New Order and the French Economy*	74
The Night Sky 1971	77
R. Niklaus: *A Literary History of France: The Eighteenth Century, 1715-1789*	70
A. Nutting: *The Scramble for Africa*	59
V. Parker: *The English House in the Nineteenth Century*	77
J. A. Patmore: *Land and Leisure*	75
B. Redfern: *Haydn*	77
J. Reynolds: *Windmills and Watermills*	77
I. Richmond: *Roman Archaeology and Art*	
S. I. Rudenko: *Frozen Tombs of S...*	
D. Scott: *The Psychology of Work*	
B. Segefjord: *Summerhill Diary*	
A. Smith: *Dictionary of City of London Street Names*	
C. Sofer: *Men in Mid-Career*	
D. Stanford: *Critics of the 'Nineties'*	
F. Steegmuller: *Cortege*	
M. Stocks (Editor): *Essays by ... Hands*	
F. Sulimirski: *Prehistoric Russia*	
H. Van Thal (Editor): *Belloc: A Biographical Anthology*	
L. de Vilmorin: *Carnets*	
A. Volwahsen: *Living Architecture: Islamic Indian*	
W. S-Y. Wang and A. Lyovin (Compilers): *CLIBOC: Chinese Linguistics Bibliography on Computer*	
M. Waters: *Changing Chepstow*	
J. A. Watt: *The Church and the Two Nations in Medieval Ireland*	
J. C. Wheat and C. F. Brun: *Maps and Charts published in America before 1800*	
A. Willener: *The Action-Image of Society*	
L. C. Wroth: *The Voyages of Giovanni da Verrazzano*	
F. Young: *No Fun like Work*	

FICTION

M. Déon: *Les Poneys sauvages*	
H. Heissenbüttel: *D'Alembert's Ende*	
H. R. F. Keating: *The Strong Man*	
R. Merle: *Derrière la vitre*	
F. Sonkin: *Les Gendres*	

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T·L·S

THE TIMES
LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

FRIDAY 22 JANUARY 1971 . No. 3,595 . TWO SHILLINGS

Cuba and its past

THE DRAMA OF ANTI-AMERICANISM



Fidel Castro with N. S. Khrushchev and his grandson Nikita outside Moscow in 1963. Khrushchev Remembers *is reviewed in the second article this week.*

...THOMAS:
...of The Pursuit of Freedom
... Eyre and Spottiswoode.

...NCE THE LATE eighteenth century", Hugh Thomas tells us, ...tion in Silesia, a plague in ... war or a prosperous time in ... or in France—these ...ly unconnected events beyond ... control have determined the ... Cubans who, despite their ... innocence, were the only links ... them. The island was never ... All great events, from the ...nic Wars to the Suez crisis, ...to Cuba; and the history of the ...n of Castro is the history of ...s itself self-consciously a great ...hose purpose was to escape the ...e of geographical as well as ...e circumstances.

...e of the great strengths of ...r Thomas's book that he is ...nscious of the inadequacy of a ...nly national perspective in ...n history. He always puts the ...'s affairs into their proper inter...al context, even when this re...lengthy excursions into the ... slave trade and the world ...market, or into Spanish and ...American politics. It is Cuba's ...to win control over its own ...which *Cuba: or The Pursuit ...edom* ostensibly sets out to ...e, but in practice the main ...ends to be rather narrower ...'s pursuit of freedom from ...States control.

...e face of it Professor Thomas ...tten a monumental political ... of the Caribbean's largest ...st prosperous island from ...1962, with the main empha...e last thirty years of the per... most of the book is devoted ...s in which the United States ...nvolved that it could also be ...d part of its history—an ...r and unflattering slant on ...ntry's history, to be sure, but ...ghly significant one, as other ...untries in some quite distant parts of the world have been discovering. The narrative stops rather abruptly in October, 1962, when the Russians withdrew their missiles from Cuba and in return the United States acquiesced in the existence of a nationalist communist state ninety miles from its shores. In a brief epilogue (of a mere seventy pages) Professor Thomas draws up a rather pessimistic balance-sheet of Cuba's freedoms since the island passed into the Soviet orbit; but both the prologue (concerned with domination by the English) and the epilogue (dealing with the period of dependence on Russia) are little more than asides.

The narrative starts, with inexplicable abruptness, on March 5, 1762. The English navy seized Havana (at that time a larger city than New York) from Spain and the ensuing eleven months of British occupation transformed the island's economy, opening it to the main currents of world trade, which at this time meant fundamentally the slave trade. The Cuban expedition enhanced a number of English fortunes and financed the purchase of several handsome estates in the English countryside. Describing an estate in Norfolk, Professor Thomas comments wrily that "it was not the last tranquil scene in an Anglo-Saxon country financed by bloodshed in Cuba or the Caribbean".

Cuba's sugar production expanded rapidly in the years following the English occupation, but the island was still only a marginal producer at the end of the eighteenth century compared to her flourishing neighbour—the French territory of Saint Domingue, now known to the world as Haiti. It was the Haitian slave revolt which transformed Cuba into the world's largest sugar producer, and one of the world's richest colonies, by the 1820s; and it was partly the fear of a slave revolt in Cuba which deterred the island's master class from following the rest of Latin America into independence in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars.

Of course Spanish rule was irksome and sometimes provoked resistance—but those who opposed Spain thought in terms of annexation by the United States rather than risking the perils of a war of independence which might unleash a slave rising.

The United States, for its part, did not particularly mind a Spanish colony to the south, since Spain was weak. (It is ironical to be reminded that the Monroe Doctrine, when it was enunciated in 1823, was not intended to contest the existence of an extra-continental presence in Cuba.) The United States was willing to purchase Cuba, as it had purchased Florida; but the Spanish government, despite its chronically empty treasury, never dared to accept so unpatriotic a proposal. The United States, though, was not prepared to seize the island by force, because it too feared the example of Haiti, both on Cuban slaves and on those in its own Southern states.

By the 1850s, however, both slave-owners and anti-slavery leaders in the United States had come to agree that the island of Cuba was an attractive piece of real estate. It is in the spirit of the times that it was the island, as a piece of territory, rather than its inhabitants, which interested them. The slave-owning Governor Quitman of Mississippi is quoted by his biographer as putting this view with exceptional frankness in 1850, at a time when he was preparing an invasion force to seize the island (like a number of his successors he finally abandoned the invasion plan and

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE

...hrushchev Memoirs	83	Edgar Allan Poe	95
...by J. G. Farrell, Margaret Forster, John Gunther	85	George Melly's 'Revolt into Style'	98
...Bridson and Eisenstein	86	Dyce's recollections of Wordsworth and others, by S. Schoenbaum	101
...ntenary of the founding of the German Empire	87	'Jonathan Cape, Publisher'	104
...eth Bishop's 'Complete Poems', and a poem by Erich Fried ...he Dutschke case	92	Letters on The British Library, Solzhenitsyn, Elias Canetti, William Jones	96

...83, 84, Fiction 85, Radio and Cinema 86, History 87, 88, Biography and Memoirs 89, Roman History 90, Music 91, Literature 92, 102, Cultural History 93, Social Studies ... 98, Philosophy 99, American History 100, Religion 103, Publishing and Printing 104.

instead made off with the war chest for himself):

Our people want Cuba free not only because they detest the Despotism of its government but for reasons of political necessity. If the Cubans wish to become free and to be admitted to share our civil rights, very well. If not they must go away from Cuba, which must be ours whether its present inhabitants desire it or not.

It was not only the extreme Right in the United States who viewed Cuba in these terms. William H. Seward, about to become Lincoln's Secretary of State, claimed in 1859 that "every rock and every grain of sand on that island [Cuba] were drifted and washed out from American soil by the floods of the Mississippi and the other estuaries of the Gulf of Mexico", and shortly afterwards he urged Lincoln to purchase the island as a way of conciliating the slave states of the South. However, by that time the conflict within the United States had gone too far for abolitionists to contemplate the incorporation of another slave state, and Cuba remained a Spanish colony until 1898.

Professor Thomas's account of Cuba in the nineteenth century is useful in that it describes not only the political history of Spain's most prosperous colony but also its social and economic structure, and gives a valuable account of the nature of Cuba's slave society. This is one of the more successful parts of the book, perhaps because the author recognizes the need to condense his material and present it in a succinct manner. But even here it is not obvious why an enormously long book should be further inflated by recurrent passages such as the following:

[in nineteenth-century Havana] the best café for a long time was the Dominica, where both men and women drank their refrescos, such as orangeade or *panales* (white of eggs and sugar) or *limonada*, sometimes with rum. The Dominica was a large marble floored room with a fountain in the middle . . .

After the American Civil War it was obvious that the Cubans would be forced, however reluctantly, into the "pursuit of freedom" for their slaves. This process was completed in 1888, simultaneously eliminating, in Professor Thomas's view, both the main threat to social stability (the slaves) and the main prop (a native landlord class tied to their landholdings). Thus just as the United States was gathering the strength to take up its imperial role, the reasons for Cuba's colonial status were being undermined.

Faced by rebellious small farmers and bandits in the east of the island, Spain at first made some half-hearted attempts to conciliate the Cuban rich and appease the United States. But when Martí launched a major bid for independence, in 1895, the island was plunged into a colonial war which exhausted both the independence fighters and the imperial forces. For a while a nervous government held back from intervening, but the pressure of "free elections" and a "free press" became irresistible, and in 1898 the United States embarked on its career as a world power by seizing Spain's Caribbean possessions and the Philippines. Professor Thomas ably describes Washington's vacillations over this intervention, and concludes that to a large extent it was a war precipitated by the new mass-circulation newspapers, against the wishes of most of the American business community. The *New York Journal* certainly claimed credit for precipitating the war. When their star correspondent cabled from Havana: "Everything is quiet. There will be no war. I wish to return", their proprietor cabled back: "Please remain. You furnish the pictures and I'll furnish the war." And once the war had broken out the paper asked its readers in a banner headline: "HOW DO YOU LIKE THE JOURNAL'S WAR?"

Cuba passed entirely into the American sphere of influence for the next sixty years. It is true that the island obtained its formal independence in 1902, whereas Puerto Rico and the Philippines remained under United States occupation. Professor Thomas argues that this independence was granted for two reasons. First, before the United States intervened Cubans in New York had distributed perhaps as much as two million dollars to Senators in Washington, in order to obtain a Congressional resolution that the people of Cuba must be given an independent government. But this pledge might have been forgotten, if the occupation troops had not encountered serious nationalist resistance in the Philippines. Not wishing to fight two foreign wars at once, the American forces agreed to withdraw from Cuba, although they crushed the Filipinos. (Thus when Castro asks his people to identify their cause with anti-American struggles all round the world, he is not imposing an alien doctrine but asserting a genuine lesson from Cuban history.)

Professor Thomas proceeds to describe, with meticulous care, the political history of the island since independence. It is a detailed chronological account; traditional political history of the sort which emphasizes the rise and fall of presidents and the major policy decisions they took while in power, although there is also a certain amount of economic and social background. In this form of narrative many important processes are given only very cursory treatment, and the reader is liable to get lost in the minutiae of political infighting. We learn that virtually every ruler of Cuba until Castro was corrupt, but there is no real attempt to explain why this corruption (and its attendant violence) was so deeply rooted that even the most militant reformers eventually succumbed to it. Each specific election campaign is dutifully recorded, but it never becomes clear why president after president broke their promises and attempted to maintain themselves in office indefinitely.

The revolution of 1933, which brought Batista to power, is re-enacted in a blow-by-blow account; but the social forces at work outside the presidential palace acquire only the most shadowy existence (although an exception must be made here for the army, whose internal conflicts are intelligently reconstructed).

Sifting through the mass of evidence presented, one sees that there was a dramatic growth in the strength of Cuban nationalism over this period, and indeed the familiar sentiments acquired an unusually virulent form; but the social basis of this process is never really located. The same might be said about the development of class-consciousness.

Cuban nationalism must be a fundamental element in any attempt to understand Castro's revolution, so it is worth further consideration. In the nineteenth century, those slave-owners who opposed Spain tended to favour annexation by the United States rather than outright independence. There was some anti-American sentiment among the leaders of the independence movement, but the main champions of this view (Martí and Maceo) were killed in the Independence War. For the first twenty years of Cuba's existence as a state it seems that nationalism was not a powerful force. Perhaps this could be explained in terms of the unprecedented expansion of the economy, as it captured a large slice of the United States sugar market, and the fact that there was still a large amount of foreign immigration (in 1919, 12 per cent of the Cuban population had been born abroad).

It would also be relevant to consider the functioning of the institutions set up under the American occupation. (Did the school system foster or impede nationalism? Were officers in the United States trained Cuban army nationalistic? &c.) From the 1920s onwards it is evident that the climate changed—and we even find the pro-American dictator Machado playing with anti-Americanism in an effort to rescue his regime. Several possible explanations come to mind—the benefits of attachment to the United States economy declined, while the costs of the United States presence became more apparent; the student movement began to identify the poor as the truly national element in Cuban society, while the rich became identified with foreign interests; the influx of immigrants declined until by 1953 only 4 per cent of the Cuban population had been born abroad; and perhaps the national institutions set up by the United States acquired an existence of their own, which they needed to assert against their overbearing mentor.

It seems that many North Americans associated with Cuba either did not notice these changes or were incapable of adapting to them, so that in the 1930s and again in the 1950s we see United States officials continuing to act as though the Cubans had no national consciousness.

By their incomprehension, one might hypothesize, the United States inflamed Cuban national sentiment and ensured that it would be directed against themselves. This is a subject which requires systematic examination (in which, no doubt, some of the above generalizations could be shown to be facile). But, alas, *Cuba: or The Pursuit of Freedom* fails to confront such issues head-on—instead they must be unearthed by the patient reader willing to plough through an enormous quantity of detail. (Indeed at times one is driven to recall Peter Nettl's comment "our nose is grimly kept a bare inch above the squiggly furrow of facts".)

Nevertheless, one must not underestimate the value of a book which brings together so much of the dispersed evidence about Cuba's dramatic history. Sometimes the painstaking detective work into obscure events yields important and unexpected results. For example, the book is particularly good on Castro's youth. By the age of twenty-four this extraordinary man had already followed Juan Bosch in a desperate and abortive attempt to invade the Dominican Republic and overthrow Trujillo; he had gone with Rómulo Betancourt's blessing to Bogotá where he had become involved in anti-American demonstrations and, in a small way, in the city's most violent insurrection; jointly with a friend he had run his own daily radio programme, until the friend was murdered; and he had raided the Cuban President's villa and taken compromising photographs.

Professor Thomas well describes the violence and idealism of Havana University in the late 1940s, which exercised such a formative influence on the future revolutionary leader. He also shows that by 1953, when Castro was about to enter history by leading a desperate attack against the Moncada barracks, he had already rallied round him a surprising number of followers, who were neither students, communists nor gangsters, but ordinary members of the working and lower middle classes.

Similarly, the heroic story of the struggle against Batista is pieced together in one of the fullest and most precise accounts, resp... conflicting prejudices wh... sode is liable to provok... pages we have a very c... *have* Batista fell (although ... made so clear why). Bat... seems to have done mor... one else to pave Castro's ... victory. He destroyed the ... caste in 1933, replacing ... lumpen army and promot... labour movement. The c... introduced an electoral ... which he allowed him... defeated—with the result ... opponents became as co... power as he was himself. ... whole political class had ... discredited the system on ... power rested, Batista s... away, leaving a straig... between his own brutal a... petent regime and the ... idealism of Castro.

Even then, if Batista ... determined to hold on to ... could surely have done so ... like Trujillo for example ... that Batista and his friends ... had guilty consciences and ... always prepared to hate the ... nents. Castro's apparent ... and his idealism, seem to ha... impressed the regime. How... one explain the extraordin... in 1954 shortly after the ... attack, when Batista's Minis... Interior visited Castro, in ... spoke as follows:

"Look Castro . . . I assure y... honour that I have never had a ... tion of angering you . . . . Th... one in Cuba who has a mo... defined position than you. ... impatient. I myself was a pol... sooner in the years of '30 and ... You are a young man, be calm ... things will pass."

This from the man in ch... security in a savage dictator... a rebel who had only recentl... sixteen soldiers and lost sixty-... his followers! Batista ne... spared Castro's life, but ... eighteen months granted ... amnesty. Less than three years ... after attempting a *very indiscr...* repression *which only plac...* hands of *his* enemies, Batis... the final proof of his demon... fleeing the country with his ... and his loot, defeated not so ... by Castro's arms as by his ... virtue and will-power.

It is clear from Pro... Thomas's account that, just as ... was not an unremittingly opp... dictator, the United States d... consciously and systematically ... the wicked policy of impe... oppression depicted by Cuba... paganda. But in spite of the ... motives and uncertain guidel... Washington policy, there was a ... arrogance and disregard for C... susceptibilities to provoke a ...

patient man than Castro. The ... some American reactions can ... ged from the following:

... Batista is considered by many ... an of a bitch . . . but American ... es come first . . . at least he is ... s of a bitch, he is not playing ... th the Communists. On the ... and, Fidel Castro is surrounded ... ities. I don't know whether he ... a communist . . . [But] I am ... e is subject to communist influ-...

... the State Department's liberal ... expert at a Congressional ...

... urse, formally speaking, Cuba ... sovereign nation, an ally ... internal affairs were the exclu... concern of the Cuban governm... and the Cuban people. But ... months after the shock success... Castro's reckless challenge to ..., the new leader found himself ... Washington, being vetted by Vice-... dent Nixon.

... Professor Thomas tells us that ... on immediately took against ..., apparently because the ... showed no interest in the files ... the Vice-President produced ... mmunism among Castro's sup... ". Nixon himself has subse... ly informed us that following ... interview he immediately sug... to the administration that ... rm a force of Cuban exiles to ... the island.

... the event the invasion did not ... place until two years later, and ... ilure shattered one of the basic ... ses of United States foreign ..., creating a highly unstable ... ion which soon developed into ... or world crisis. The Bay of Pigs ... ion and the Missile Crisis form ... ccessful culmination of *Cuba: ... the Pursuit of Freedom*, being ... e amenable to the author's style ... explanation than is the process of ... revolution. The invasion at... ... is reconstructed in all its for... ... ible incompetence; and the af... ... of Cuba finally dwindle into ... background beside the enormity ... October, 1962, confrontation ... e great powers, (President Ken... ... himself apparently estimated ... risk of nuclear war at this time ... somewhere between one out of ... and evens.")

... hile the international dimension ... e Cuban revolution is skilfully ... ated, its internal development is not neglected. But here the results are rather less satisfactory, mostly because of Professor Thomas's narrowly political approach, which emphasizes the actions and ambitions of a few leaders to the neglect of other considerations. Of course he is right to emphasize the discrepancy between the early libertarian promises of the rebels and the ensuing puritanical tyranny; and he convincingly explains many of Castro's actions in power in terms of the man's love of extreme situations, his determination to outmanoeuvre any group or institution which threatens his power, and his skill at improvising and then rationalizing his decisions. Indeed, Castro's swing to the left in the summer of 1959 may be explained by the discovery that it was the United States who threatened to impose the most effective restraints on his personal power, whereas the Communist Party was not as yet a serious menace (and in fact Castro had just helped to crush the party in the union elections of May, 1959).

In such a personalist regime as revolutionary Cuba this type of explanation undoubtedly has an important role to play, and Castro's attempts to attribute to himself a clear ideological vision from the start are convincingly exposed by the author. But surely it *is* the strength of Castro's ideological vision which differentiates his regime from any ordinary Caribbean dictatorship, and also, despite some superficial parallels, from Italian Fascism? The revolution unleashed a powerful wave of demands from the underprivileged of Cuba, and these new social forces were surely more important in radicalizing the regime than Professor Thomas seems to believe, even if they were not as determinant as apologists for the regime would like to claim.

For the most part Professor Thomas confines himself to reconstructing what actually happened rather than what he would have liked to have happened. But occasionally he plays the game of historical might-have-beens with surprising results. For example, he considers that it might have been better for all concerned if William Walker had succeeded in establishing a military empire based on black slavery throughout the Caribbean, since "such an empire would in the long run have fallen and led to the creation of a homogeneous black republic of sufficient size to be viable".

However, the most important lost opportunity stressed by the book, and one which Professor Thomas repeatedly regrets, was the failure to hold elections in the 1950s in which moderate "men of goodwill" might have come to power. It is, however, difficult to believe that any elections held before the revolution could really have solved the problems that rightly concern Professor Thomas. When Boris Goldenberg objected to a possible presidential candidate, in 1951, on the grounds that he was a gangster, Senator Masferrer replied: "Yes, *chico*, but we're all gangsters. What do you expect? This isn't Europe." In such a situation no candidate, however personally honest, could hope (even if he did manage to get elected) to convince the public that he was genuinely disinterested and incorruptible. To break the cycle of corruption probably required someone who was willing to prove his idealism by staking his life against tremendous odds.

It is true that many who followed Castro expected elections after the revolution had triumphed, and if elections had been held they might in the short run have produced a much higher quality of leadership than in the past. Professor Thomas laments that the liberals around Castro in 1959 resigned themselves with so little protest to the postponement of elections, but this fact could be taken to reflect their lack of confidence that the "liberal cause" would be strengthened by the verdict of the polls. In any case; a democratic regime would have been a victim of acute internal tensions and would have been much weaker vis-à-vis the United States. In his epilogue Professor Thomas presents a balanced account of revolutionary Cuba, showing both its administrative injustices and its social achievements. This shows that the present regime is not ideal, but it is not established that a liberal alternative was ever viable.

Cuba: or The Pursuit of Freedom would have been a better book if it had been kept to half its actual length. Nevertheless, Professor Thomas has written an extremely useful and wide-ranging account of the Cuban drama. The maps and illustrations are also excellent.

The man Stalin liked

Khrushchev Remembers
Translated and edited by Strobe Talbott.
Introduction, Commentary and Notes by Edward Crankshaw.
639pp. André Deutsch. £3 10s.

This volume contains, besides the ... purported reminiscences of N. S. ... Khrushchev, a short publisher's ... concerning the provenance of ... material; a similar note by ... be Talbott about his part in the ... paration of the book; a twenty-... page introduction by Edward ... kshaw; four appendixes com... ... ing a chronology of Khrushchev's ... er, an explanatory comment on ... ot institutions and terminology, ... ed biographies of nine of Khrush... 's former Kremlin colleagues ... the text of Khrushchev's ... rious "de-Stalinization" speech ... a closed session of the ... enth Congress of the Soviet ... unist Party in 1956; and ... ty-one illustrations. In addi... Khrushchev's contribution is ... ally interlarded with glosses and ... e-setting commentary.

With all these aids to comprehen... it is a fairly safe assumption ... the volume is intended for ... eral, even popular, consumption ... er than for the specialist in Soviet ... airs.

The specialist, in fact, is likely to ... considerably exasperated by the ... k. He would presumably relish ... ing better than a candid account ... Kremlin politics over a period of ... eral decades by a central partici... recollecting his own experiences ... tranquillity—which is what the ... ence publicity for these ... emoirs" may well have led him ... expect. But any such hopes are ... elled immediately by the pub... er's note with which the book ... ns. This affirms that the book is "an authentic record of Nikita Khrushchev's words", but qualifies the claim with the statement that it "is made up of material emanating from various sources at various times and in various circumstances". Mr. Talbott confirms the patchwork nature of the exercise with his observations that "the original material, when it came into my hands, was quite disorganized" and that "in trying to turn it into a readable English book, I have had to take certain liberties with the structure". He too, however, insists that "except for an occasional paraphrase or improvised transitional sentence, Khrushchev has said everything attributed to him in his book".

The Russian reaction to Western reports of the imminent publication of *Khrushchev Remembers* was predictable. Khrushchev himself formally denounced assertions that he had ever passed on "memoirs or materials of this nature to either a foreign or a Soviet publishing house" as "a fabrication" typical of "the venal bourgeois press", though it is perhaps noteworthy that his statement did not categorically deny that he had ever compiled such reminiscences.

Izvestiya, in an article characteristically loaded with virtuous indignation and cheap innuendo, elaborated the repudiation by declaring the "memoirs" to be the fruits of a collaboration between the United States and British secret services. According to this account, Mr. Talbott is a neophyte member of the C.I.A. who retired to the cloistered peace of Oxford in order to work on the fabrication of Khrushchev's reminiscences under the wing of the British secret service. The association of Mr. Crankshaw with the project is accepted by *Izvestiya* as clinching proof of its spuriousness, Mr. Crankshaw is credited with being a long-time member of the "Secret Intelligence Service" with a record of subversive activity so black that the Soviet Union has been obliged to close its frontiers to him.

Nothing in the narrative itself nullifies the claims of the publisher and editor that it is a true record of Khrushchev's words. Almost all of it is old hat, having been more or less publicly related by Khrushchev in his free-wheeling heyday, either when holding court among foreign journalists or diplomats, or during the long audiences he was wont to vouchsafe to foreign representatives in his pursuance of a new style of Soviet leadership; and even those passages which do not immediately recall previously published utterances by Khrushchev might conceivably derive from remarks made by him in circumstances which precluded their publication but which did not mean that records were not made.

On the most cynical interpretation, this reasoning would lend credibility to the theory that these "reminiscences" are, in fact, a compilation

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of views expressed by Khrushchev, on or off the record, in the course of his public life and now extracted from some painstaking memory bank and skilfully pieced together to form a running narrative. This theory is consistent with the publisher's statement that the material emanated "from various sources at various times and in various circumstances" and with the editor-translator's comment that the material he received was "quite disorganized". It does not, however, accord well with the enthusiasm with which Mr. Crankshaw in his introduction hails this "voice from limbo". Mr. Crankshaw seems to accept wholeheartedly that Khrushchev in retirement betook himself to his study and recorded his memoirs after the manner of a Harold Macmillan or a George Brown. But the only evidence he adduces in support of his conviction that the reminiscences are "the real thing" is the assertion that "to anyone who had listened to him [Khrushchev] in the days of his prime, or read his speeches in Russian, there was no mistaking the authentic tone" — an argument which, in the circumstances, will scarcely command universal acceptance.

Mr. Crankshaw remarks, incidentally, that his own decision about the authenticity of "this remarkable document" had to be based on the evidence of "a Russian typescript and nothing else at all". One would like to know more about that typescript. Was it a complete Russian-language text of the reminiscences as now published in English translation? Or was it a series of instalments as received from various sources at various times? In plain fact, before either endorsing Mr. Crankshaw's opinion or taking issue with him on the point of authenticity one would require to see the original text oneself.

Meanwhile, if compelled to gamble on one theory or another to account for this assemblage of Khrushchev's recollections, one would be inclined to guess that they contain a certain number of reminiscences genuinely recorded by Khrushchev himself since his removal from the leadership, and that these have been padded out by a far greater quantity of much older material deriving from his undammable loquacity while in power.

The genesis of the material incorporated in *Khrushchev Remembers* will probably provide the experts with bones of Kremlinological contention for a long time to come. To the general reader, however, this is of minor importance. What will matter to him is that the recollections now conveniently assembled in a single volume, whenever and however they may have been recorded, genuinely reflect the experiences and opinions on a vast number of fascinating topics of a man who for almost a decade wielded virtually autocratic authority in one of the world's two super-powers. As such, they help enormously to put the picture of the man in focus, to illuminate the dim corridors of the Kremlin and to fill out the rationale of post-war Russian policies and actions.

Khrushchev emerges from his own protestations as a man notably well-equipped to climb the political ladder in the circumstances which prevailed between the wars. His education was sketchy, he was no ideologist, and he was quick and shrewd rather than profound. But he was tough and courageous, hard-working and resourceful, self-confident and ambitious. Moreover, he was able to make himself liked by his superiors and his equals (including such as Kaganovich and Stalin, for whom in these pages he expresses an intemperate detestation), and he was very successful by one means or another in stimulating those under him to great effort (as in the building of the Moscow Metro). He also had a marked talent for survival, which he himself calls luck, though his emergence unscathed from the internal party struggles of the 1920s and 1930s was evidently not unconnected with the fact that he avowedly hitched his wagon to Stalin's star. For his part, Stalin trusted him and, as Khrushchev puts it, "to the last day of his life he liked me".

More than half the book is devoted to the internal political scene as Khrushchev progressed, surprisingly smoothly, from the Donbas, via Kharkov and Kiev, to the Kremlin itself. We are given glimpses of conditions during the Civil War, the forced collectivization, the great purges, the war with Finland and the "Great Patriotic War"; and there are sidelights on the K.G.B., Soviet antisemitism, particular industrial problems, the atmosphere of fear and plotting which surrounded Stalin, and the manner in which government policies were determined. Almost all of this stands out in stark contrast to the unflawed and universal nobility and perfection customarily portrayed by official Soviet publicity.

Khrushchev also expresses frank opinions about a whole range of personalities in the upper reaches of the Communist Party hierarchy, including Beria, Bulganin, Malenkov, Mikoyan and Molotov (but nobody still active in the present leadership), about notable military leaders, including Marshals Zhukov, Malinovsky and Rokossovsky, and about Stalin's wife, Nadezhda Alliluyeva, and their daughter Svetlana. All these opinions are highly subjective, and many of Khrushchev's judgments call for a pinch of salt, but they are none the less readable for that and they undoubtedly contribute to the reader's understanding of the picture in general and of Khrushchev's own character and personality in particular.

There are glaring gaps in Khrushchev's narrative. He provides no account of his own assumption and consolidation of supreme power in the years following the death of Stalin, makes no mention of the "anti-Party" group and the dramatic clash of 1957, and ignores the circumstances of his removal from power in 1964. He explains his own and other people's attitudes towards his proposal to destroy the image of Stalin as "The People's Father and Friend" at the Twentieth Party Congress, but says nothing about his possibly even more pregnant "general report" to the same Congress, which ushered in Khrushchev's version of "peaceful coexistence" and brought in its train intellectual indiscipline at home, physical rebellion within the East European block, polycentrism within the world communist movement, and the Sino-Soviet schism.

Khrushchev insists that the denigration of Stalin was necessary, timely, and efficacious. This may well be so. But the issue has already been publicly debated at enormous length and one would have wished to hear also his defence against the "conservative" charge that such 1956 phenomena as the Hungarian rising, the Polish riots, the student unrest in the Soviet Union, the upsurge of nonconformity among Russian artists and intellectuals, and the incipient fragmentation of world communism were directly attributable to the under-considered "liberal" implications of the policy be called peaceful coexistence.

Certainly there is nothing in these reminiscences to contradict the suspicion that Khrushchev's besetting weakness was an inability to see very far either in space or in time. And it is plain that, once he was firmly established in command, he was no more immune than the next man, de-Stalinization notwithstanding, to the corruptive effect of power. The result was an apparently incorrigible tendency to act arbitrarily and impetuously upon a superficially logical and persuasive appraisal of a situation without truly appreciating its long-range implications. It is, for example, hard to believe that he foresaw the effect on other Communist Parties of his pronouncement that there could be "different roads to socialism" or, indeed, the lengths to which the Chinese would go in their absolute and implacable opposition to his whole concept of peaceful coexistence.

Khrushchev never, in fact, even began to come to grips with the problems represented by the Chinese Communist Party, and his discussion of Sino-Soviet relations in this book is strikingly ingenuous, petty, and emotional. As early as 1954, he relates, on his return to Moscow from a visit to China, he reported to his comrades: "Conflict with China is inevitable." This conclusion was reached "on the basis of various remarks Mao had made", and Khrushchev then goes on to describe the "typically oriental atmosphere" in Peking, where "everyone was unbelievably courteous and ingratiating" and "it was all too sickeningly sweet" and "nauseating". Moreover, Khrushchev continues, "some of the things Mao said put [...] guard. I was never exactly [...] I understood what he meant [...] he did understand, however, [...] the Chinese were uncommon[...] ing. When Stalin asked the [...] site in China on which to [...] pineapple cannery, he was told by Mao Tse-tung to "[...] credit loan and we will [...] cannery ourselves. We will [...] back your loan with the prod[...] this cannery." A little la[...] En-lai invited the Soviet U[...] make us a gift of a universit[...] after the Soviet Union had b[...] road from Ulan Bator to [...] Khrushchev was underst[...] taken aback to be told that "[...] from Ulan Bator isn't much [...] us. What we really need is [...] from Peking through the m[...] to Kazakhstan", and then pressed to build that too.

So far as we in Britain a[...] cerned there is a certain nostalgia in reading about the [...] ments of the visit of Bulga[...] Khrushchev in 1956, but i[...] Khrushchev's recollection i[...] appointingly vague and the [...] sions he records are in the [...] trivial and superficial.

More intriguing and reve[...] the West as a whole is Khru[...] account of the Cuba crisis of O[...] 1962. His apologia for his be[...] in this matter starts with the [...] late that the United States w[...] mitted to the destruction o[...] Castro regime by military [...] The Soviet Union had an obl[...] to protect Cuba, and Khru[...] personally conceived the i[...] putting missiles into Cuba i[...] to discharge that duty. The p[...] of this move was "to deter A[...] from starting a war" and [...] "a period of perilous te[...] this goal was achieved. The [...] claims Khrushchev, was [...] triumph of Soviet foreign [...] and a personal triumph [...] my own career as a statesman" [...] is essentially the same line a[...] taken by Kosygin in the first o[...] Russian report on the Con[...] confrontation at the beginning [...] November, 1962, and though [...] have satisfied a Russian audi[...] is absurdly *simpliste* for other [...] sumers. It is characteristic of Kh[...] chev that he should express s[...] that the Cubans regarded th[...] come as "a moral defeat" fo[...] Soviet Union. Most of the w[...] qualified onlookers, such as the [...] ernments of the main W[...] powers, most uncommitted g[...] ments and a wide range of Co[...] nist Party leaderships, shared C[...] view.

The memoirs, then (if that is [...] they are), are by no means d[...] analytical; they offer intimate f[...] always brand-new glimpses [...] places, personalities and e[...] which, to most of us, by reaso[...] their normal remoteness, are [...] shrouded in a theatrical unre[...] they tell us a fair amount a[...] Khrushchev's own character and [...] sonality; and they usefully set o[...] examining one's own mem[...] judgments, and prejudices.

FIFTIETH 50 ANNIVERSARY

Jonathan Cape

'The firm of Jonathan Cape is 50 years old this week, but the volume that commemorates this event is the most remarkable book that has ever been written about the business of publishing.' So David Holloway describes **Jonathan Cape, Publisher** by **Michael S. Howard** (£3.75) in the Daily Telegraph. Robert Lusty in the Sunday Times calls the book 'an outstanding biography which will certainly become a classic.' 'Superb entertainment,' is John Raymond's view in the Financial Times; 'this excellent book is also a piece of social and economic history.'

In the early months of its anniversary year Cape will be publishing among others new books by Doris Lessing, Anthony Burgess, Lionel Davidson, Nell Dunn, Nardine Gordimer and James Purdy. The season opens on January 28th with the following books.

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Re-capital

LOUIS ALTHUSSER and ETIENNE BALIBAR:
Reading Capital
Translated by Ben Brewster.
340pp. New Left Books. £4.

French title: *Lire le Capital*. The subject of a front-page article, this book is essentially a record of a "seminar by Althusser and his followers". The core of the analysis is epistemological; Althusser explores "Marx's process of understanding" by means of an "intensely detailed critical reading of the works, using all the resources of linguistic, literary and philosophical discipline". But "although one can agree with his profound and persistent dislike of empiricism", one can still "feel uneasy about his apparent dismissal of any exterior criterion of practice, such as actual historical development, past or future". "structuralist" approach "sh[...] away some of Marx's proble[...] (*TLS*, December 15, 1966).

¶ This translation is describ[...] the chief author as "abridged [...] improved" but also "strictly [...] duces and represents the theo[...] positions of the original text [...] contains a glossary of Althus[...] terms which considerably am[...] that attached to *For Marx* [...] deserves as much appreciation [...] readers as it receives from [...] author. Ben Brewster has m[...] remarkably good job of the tr[...] tion, and New Left Books d[...] design of the volume.

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[...]nd of a dream

[...] FARRELL:
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[...] does a novel have to be called [...] "historical" novel? Perhaps [...] it deals with a period not within [...] experience either of the author [...] or of those he has been able [...] to intelligibly. If we accept a [...] line of this sort, then the [...] of Scott's novels—*Guy Man*[...] *y*, or *The Heart of Midloth*[...] aren't historical novels, but fic[...] conjured out of childhood hear[...] and deriving impetus from emo[...] strong in those who exerted an [...] ence on the writer in his youth. [...] might call them "middle-[...]" novels, and there have [...] some extraordinarily good ones. [...] Bennett's *Clayhanger*—espe[...] those flashback parts which [...] the youth of Darius Clay[...] when the Industrial Revolu[...] was flexing its muscles, eager to [...] and devour—certainly comes [...] his category.

[...] does *Troubles*. Mr. J. G. [...] was born in 1935—fifteen [...] after the time-setting of his [...]. Yet the sense of period is [...] with remarkable fidelity. His [...] is Ireland, a village called Kil[...] on the Wicklow coast not [...] from Dublin. The war is over. [...] Fein is building up its cam[...] of terror, but Lloyd George [...] yet to strike his bargain with [...] Griffith, the consequences of [...] are being rammed down our [...] at this very moment.

[...] *Troubles* is not at all an [...] of a shooting war. True, the [...] and Tans make their unpleas[...] presence felt now and then: a [...] man partly in R.I.C. uniform [...] ried, semi-conscious, up to the [...] in the sand to await the rising [...] the crops of a member of the [...] tant landlord class are burnt [...] half-hearted sort of way. But [...] is nothing ding-dong about [...] bles. Incident and physical action abound, but they belong to the world of mood and symbol, not to that of King's Regulations.

Everything in the book, or almost everything, is observed, as it were, at a remove, through curtains of fine lawn hung blowily and shabbily at leaky windows; and these impose a blurred, half ghostly outline on scenes and situations. Just occasionally, as when Edward Spencer feeds his dogs with boiled sheeps' heads, or when a marmalade cat leaps from a silken lap to attack and savage a stuffed bird stuck for ornament into Miss Stavely's hat, the veils are pulled sharply aside, with the effect of giving a shocking closeness and violence to the thing described; but for the most part a dreamy haze spreads itself over everything—and these are exactly the right conditions in which to display Edward Spencer and Major Brendan Archer as they grope their way through their jolted lives.

These two are at the heart of Mr. Farrell's long book. Spencer is a widower with three daughters and a son. He belongs to the protestant ascendancy, and feels himself intensely as one living at the run-down end of a long line of aberrant, cock-eyed aristocrats. (It's the Somerville and Ross world, really, observed with a subtler eye though with one still willing to take in and enjoy bouts of knockabout slapstick.) The Major is not long out of the trenches: a decent chap, one feels, but still dazed, and always to be stunted, by the horrors he has been through. These horrors don't come into the story at all, but the impression the Major gives of a man frozen into attitudes he doesn't himself understand and which puzzle those he tries to establish relations with is done with beautiful subtlety. He comes to Ireland to make real a courtship-by-correspondence he has been pursuing with Angela, Edward's eldest daughter. But no sooner does he arrive than Angela disappears to her room—sick, so they tell him, and not to be visited nor even located. Without warning, without any further contact with him, Angela dies.

But the Major stays on, transferring his attentions—equally frustrated—to a neurotic Irish Catholic not socially quite "right"; he stays on, too, because he sees in Edward a man in direst need of support, plagued as he is with three remaining (difficult) children, and bearing the responsibilities involved in running the Majestic.

The Majestic broods over the novel like some decrepit ostrich over its egg. It is a vast, crumbling hotel owned and managed—to use a deceptively efficient word—by Edward. It is a huge sinking ship of a place, symbol of a lost Great British world and of an empire already beginning to fall apart. It has a sizable, variegated population. There are children (a handful), elderly spinsters and widows, multitudinous cats, a blind dog, Rover, that drags round with it the noisome stench of its own decay, a tutor even more broken-down. . . . Life at the Majestic has a dreamlike quality. Whist-drives start after breakfast and go on and on like euchre games in Wild West saloons; vast teas are consumed—as though the Edwardian chefs of Rumpelmayer's had long ago slipped away on the Holyhead mailboat and were still in brisk production; there is a quite sinister Palm Court where the vegetation has run amok and reverted to jungle.

Edward, with his obsessive devotion to applied science and his disregard of the humble machinery of diurnal existence, is a splendid study of a rich man determined to protect his rickety patrimony from the stealthy encroachments of revolution, yet brought to the edge of derangement by the weight of responsibilities accepted but unfamiliar. When at last flames lick out the rotting old vitals of the Majestic there is a sense of relief as well as of tragedy: now, for some at any rate, though not, one fears, for the Major, life can begin again less distorted by illusion and by a paralysing sense of the past.

Mr. Farrell deserves high praise for this novel. It is subtly modulated, richly textured, sad, funny and altogether memorable.

[...]ne flat Englishman

[...]RGARET FORSTER:
[...] Bone's Retreat
[...]p. Secker and Warburg. 38s.

[...] of Margaret Forster's novels [...] been portraits first and stories [...]nd. Plots seem there to provide [...]tional surfaces for detail, and [...]diary characters to provoke or [...]e. William Bone, in her latest [...], is her best portrait so far. An [...]y bachelor, sprightly, fastidious [...]attractive, he has devoted a life- [...] to avoiding involvement with [...] people, to devising justifications [...]s self-absorption and to curbing [...]rprising bursts of generosity. He [...]an of entirely plausible contra[...]ons, whose "extreme outward [...]osure is matched by his ex- [...] inner agitation".

[...] now owns the large house in [...]ond whose upper floor he has inhabited, and though he has [...]ntly allowed into the ground- [...] flat the only woman he ever [...], now old, crippled and difficult, [...]s lingered over the middle flat, [...]akingly decorating it but pre[...]ating about the letting. Years [...] been spent devising safeguard[...] [...]auses to be inserted in the lease; [...]ing suitable venues for advertis[...] All this is rudely disturbed by the [...]rance of a pregnant girl and her [...] lover who have nowhere to live [...] now the flat is empty. Unable to [...]e them, Mr. Bone's forebodings [...] justified when the young man [...]s and William is obliged to [...]r the girl himself, on his own [...]site carpet.

[...]nether: erecting his camp bed [...] evening, shopping with his [...]ck, running in the park or [...] to almost every play on in London before deciding on the one to take his tenants to, Mr. Bone is always believable. Squeamish, fussy, shyly lavish on occasions, racked by indecision, lucid and fluent in the notes he leaves for his tenants, yet unable to say what he has practised for nights on end, virginal and appalled by the idea of being lovable to anyone, it is possible to think of many models for such an Englishman and some fascinating variations on the theme. Like many of Miss Forster's portraits, though, it is essentially a static one, and what goes wrong with the novel is the author's compulsion to put Mr. Bone through his paces, to watch him react and move through time. The flatness of his opponents and the wilful ending, which has him mellowed by his experience of childbirth and the knowledge that the child is to be called after him, adhere uneasily to what we've learnt about him. Miss Forster's plots are usually perfunctory and they tend to undermine belief in what are sometimes exceptionally well observed characters.

Low fidelity

JOHN GUNTHER:
Quatrain
152pp. Hamish Hamilton. 30s.

". . . John Gunther created four unusually complex characters—a cripple, an alcoholic, a schizophrenic, and a headstrong young woman, all, however, very nice people . . ." Mr. Gunther, thank goodness, is a deal more realistic about his characters than this extract from the blurb suggests and his story of an intense love affair during the years of the Second World War counteracts nicely its occasional tendencies toward the schmaltzy with a concern for convincing detail which sets situations and people alike in a world both wide (in the physical sense) and parochial (in the emotional sense).

The four people involved are neither "very nice" nor very nasty; Nelson, a current-affairs broadcaster, falls in love with the wife of his best friend; the friend is drinking himself to death; Nelson's own wife is growing increasingly neurotic; guilt abounds. Not the most original of plots, perhaps, but Mr. Gunther combines a careful avoidance of the histrionic with a subterranean sense of real desperation to give Nelson's affair with Karen a credible duality—real passion on the one hand, the constrictions of social obligations on the other. This latter factor, together with loyalty (if not fidelity) in marriage, plays an important part in the novel, bringing things full circle, despite a divorce and the near destruction of Karen's husband, but without any attempt being made to tidy up the narrative in any way. The uneasy reconciliations with which the book ends have little to do with neatness; they represent a logical enough continuation of the uncertainties and unhappiness with which the characters have to deal. Mr. Gunther shows that life can be at once desperate and somehow governable and that the safest course of action can sometimes be the most difficult.

Heinemann

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CASSELL

Writing on the air

D. G. BRIDSON:
Prospero and Ariel
351pp. Gollancz. £3.

Geoffrey Bridson rightly subtitles the story of his thirty-five years in the B.B.C. "The Rise and Fall of Radio: A Personal Recollection". His creative career almost completely coincides with what, thanks perhaps equally to history and Lord Hill of Luton, will be remembered, if at all, as the Augustan Age of sound broadcasting, followed without any silver succession by the Light Age of B.L., or Background Listening.

Mr. Bridson came up in Manchester during the Depression, the generation which produced Malcolm Muggeridge on *The Guardian*, Walter Greenwood and Frank Tilsley among the novelists, Laurence Lewry, Eric Newton and Emanuel Levy among the painters. Mr. Bridson himself began, like Arnold Bennett and J. B. Priestley in a business house. In spare time he wrote poetry, he reviewed for the *New English Weekly*, he struck up a pen-friendship with Ezra Pound; and he might have gone like so many young men of that time through the literary hoops which lead to considerable though not supreme distinction.

Fate and Claud Cockburn led him elsewhere. Archie Harding, a Marxist friend of Mr. Cockburn's, had been exiled by Sir John Reith to the B.B.C.'s equivalent of Siberia, the Northern Region. Still working at his office, Mr. Bridson wrote a number of scripts for Harding. His poems were designed for speaking. He had a strong dramatic sense and an identification with the millions, like himself, who had not been to Oxbridge. He was, at a time when the B.B.C. was desperately in need of professional radio-writers, wonderful material. But the B.B.C. had no staff appointments for writers, only for producers.

When, having produced a number of plays of his own, Mr. Bridson was sent by Harding to London to be vetted as Drama Producer for Northern Region, he was passed by the Appointments Officer, a Programme Planner, Val Gielgud of Drama, and the Director of Internal Administration. But he had not been to Oxbridge, and Admiral Sir Charles Carpendale, Controller of Administration, turned him down. The Admiral would probably have found yet a further reason for turning him down if he had known that D. G. Bridson admired *The Waste Land* and was writing for the *Criterion*. But though a monopoly, the B.B.C. was not then, or now, monolithic. (In fact almost every stone was grinding against the others.) Having continued to contribute for another year as an outside writer-producer, Mr. Bridson in 1935 was taken on as a Feature Programmes Assistant, at a higher salary than he had been trying to get the year before.

Mr. Bridson never was, in the thirty-five years on the B.B.C. during which he produced 800 programmes, anything correspondeing to the title which he was given in the hierarchy. He was a researcher, writer, producer and editor combined. He pioneered the use of words (often his own) with actuality, voices and sounds (produced and often recorded by himself) and music (written according to his direction).

He was in fact one of the first creative artists to get on to the staff of the B.B.C. and always one of the most energetic. His programme, written and produced by himself in 1935, *The March of the '45* was, he tells us, broadcast nine times during the next thirty-three years in Britain, as well as being available on the B.B.C. transcription service to the United States and the Commonwealth. If he had been a freelance writer he would have been paid for his repeats; if he had confined himself to his paid function of Feature Programmes Assistant he would only have produced the programme; and if he had achieved administrative grade he would have been paid more for not producing anything.

Mr. Bridson's story is very exciting because he loved his work and the people he met in doing it: whether they were poets like Ezra Pound, Robert Graves and Conrad Aiken; folk singers like Ewan MacColl, Pete Seeger and Alan Lomax; actors like Wilfred Pickles, Joan Littlewood, Gladys Young and Richard Burton; or the congress of radio amateurs he enlisted to reverse the patriarchal process of Our talking to Them. A footnote dramatically represents the sort of thing which inspired him:

> One of the speakers I suddenly needed for *Norway* was a young drystone waller from Wensleydale whom I had met with Harry Hopeful [a picaresque commentator the author invented]. I sent him a telegram the night before the broadcast, asking him to attend if at all possible the following afternoon at three o'clock. He arrived an hour late (for which he humbly apologized) bringing along with him a girl who seemed to be rather nervous. Only after the broadcast did he introduce her to me as his bride. The wedding had been that morning, but when he received my telegram, he at once postponed his honeymoon and set out for the studio immediately after the wedding breakfast. By way of seeing them off, his best man had driven part of the way with them. At Scotch Corner there had been a terrible accident, in which his best man had been killed. Police inquiries after the accident had delayed him: he hoped I had not been inconvenienced.

Mr. Bridson inevitably came to London, during the war went to the United States, and after the war was sent everywhere. He was the three-barrel radio shooter. Actuality ?—he could give it. But looking at the devastation or the dams, he had one eye on the monuments, the relics of history. And germinating in that poetic Mancunian brain was at the same time a poetic morality which had to be dashed off with a simplicity that no one writing for a more permanent medium would perhaps dare. "I write boldly", might be the radio-writer's epitaph, "because I write on air."

He tells his own story, with only side acknowledgments to the many others, like Louis MacNeice and Dylan Thomas whose works, and Laurence Gilliam and Val Gielgud whose flair and courage, made the best of B.B.C. the pride of Britain and the envy of the wo
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to imagine a better vindication
new-found stature than this book

Not making a film

HARRY M. GEDULD and RONALD GOTTESMAN (Editors):
The Making and Unmaking of Que Viva Mexico!
449pp. Thames and Hudson. £6 6s.

The fascination of some studies has a necessary element of boredom built into it. So with this exhaustive and exhausting collection of documents connected with the ill-fated venture of Eisenstein's Mexican film in 1930. The first reaction of almost any reader, whether he knows anything in advance about *Que Viva Mexico!* or not, is likely to be one of mild irritation. Here, surely, are the makings of a fascinating little book, if only its editors had taken the trouble to write it instead of simply putting together a seemingly endless succession of letters, reports, cables, press cuttings, &c., often repeating, overlapping, telling the same happenings from slightly different points of view.

But the point is that for the book to work at all we have to have it all: with any less, with any greater amount of discreet editorial summary and paraphrase, we would probably not believe what it tells us, we would suspect the compilers of their own bias, distorting the facts, however slightly, to suit their own argument. And it is time that the record was set straight. *Que Viva Mexico!* is, after all, one of the great causes célebres of film history. Eisenstein had come to the West in 1929, mainly to investigate new developments in the sound film. After a few months in Paris he signed, with the permission of Soviet authorities, a contract with Paramount to work in Hollywood; but nothing but frustration resulted, with Eisenstein working fitfully on various projects which never came to anything. The opportunity offered Eisenstein at this point by the novelist Upton Sinclair to make a film entirely according to his own wishes in Mexico for an independent group, the Mexican Film Trust, backed financially by Sinclair himself, seemed like the answer to a prayer.

What happened next has been told and told again, in widely varying versions. There was trouble with money, trouble with the Russian authorities (who wanted Eisenstein back), trouble of some sort between Eisenstein and Sinclair (not to mention between Eisenstein and Mrs. Sinclair), a rocketing budget and shooting schedule on a film which in its scope and conception seemed to be expanding hourly towards infinity. In the end Eisenstein went back to Russia with the film shot but unedited, leaving endless legal and personal tangles behind him. The idea was that he should edit the film back in Russia, but one way and another the materials never reached him. Some attempt to salvage something from the mess was made in 1933, when a feature, *Thunder Over Mexico*, and two shorts, *Eisenstein In Mexico* and *Death Day*, were edited out of the mass of exposed film in Hollywood, Eisenstein not being consulted in the matter. In 1939 Marie Seton, Eisenstein's biographer and disciple, attempted to put together from what was left a closer approximation to his original intentions, *Time In the Sun*. But when Eisenstein finally got to see *Thunder Over Mexico* and *Time In the Sun* for himself, in 1946, he observed of both of them (in a letter which Miss Seton, with fine impartiality, quotes in her biography): "Ce qu'ils en ont fait comme montage est plus que navrant." Right at the end of his life he was still hoping to edit his own version, but he died before he was able to do so.

The great problem has always been: who was to blame? On the whole, Upton Sinclair has been fingered. From the very beginning he came under fire, particularly from Seymour Stern, who had been Eisenstein's chief supporter at Universal when they too had thought of putting Eisenstein under contract. For Stern, Eisenstein was the unquestioned genius, trying against all odds to achieve his greatest film, and Sinclair was the small-minded, money-grubbing, puritanical, henpecked (for it seemed that Mrs. Sinclair's disapproval of Eisenstein's blasphemous humour and eccentric sex life had had a lot to do with the disaster) and generally reprehensible saboteur of the great artist's ambitions. No doubt there were reasons for his thinking this, and it must be said that in so far as Eisenstein was in touch with what was going on in America at the time he did little to moderate or contradict Stern's one-sided picture. On the other hand, of course, Sinclair has had his supporters, who see him as having played the dupe of Eisenstein for too long, only finally coming to his senses when Eisenstein's irresponsibility and political and moral untrustworthiness became too obvious to be ignored.

The truth—and after reading this book we can feel quite certain that we know the truth—is, as usual, somewhere betwixt and between; but much more in Sinclair's favour than in Eisenstein's. Eisenstein was undoubtedly a great artist, but in order to exercise his art he was quite likely to be devious, irresponsible and sometimes downright dishonest. And Sinclair, heaven knows, had his own problems. Though he started out as financial guarantor of the enterprise, *Que Viva Mexico!* dragged o
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All this is documented up to
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to imagine a better vindication
new-found stature than this book

When Germany was unified

s January 18, 1871, the Ger-
man Empire was founded at
Versailles and William I of
ia was proclaimed German
eror by the princes of Germany
years to the day after his
or Frederick I had crowned
f King in Prussia in the ancient
of the Teutonic Knights.
fically, the deputation sent by
eichstag, the federal parlia-
of the North German Con-
, was kept waiting outside:
e new crown was not to be the
baked with dirt and clay",
had been offered in 1849 to
rick William IV, William's
, by the Frankfurt Parlia-
German unity was reached by
rate contracts and arrange-
between the German princes,
popular action. But the
sentatives of the victorious
were present, in the heart of
ered France, and the glittering
in the Hall of Mirrors was
nated by uniforms, another
of the distribution of poli-
power.

so, Bismarck had found it
ely difficult to overcome the
nce of the old king to his new
. A few months earlier he told
on that "it would be a great
rtune if I had to exchange the
e crown of Prussia for this
n of dirt". And only shortly
e the ceremony he declared that
ary 18 would be the most un-
y day of his life because it
d be the day of the funeral of
russian kingdom. William I was
the only one who thought so,
it was not only the Prussian
servatives who deeply regretted
disappearance of the old Prussia.
an entirely different point of
, the liberal historian Max
cker wrote: "The title [of Em-
or] is reminiscent of all the wrong
s taken by our nation and
ives the Prussian peasants of
ing'." He would have pre-
d to leave the Imperial dignity
"the Imperial *and* Royal"
e to the Austrians. It was not
in the Imperial title, but also in
term *Reich* that a deliberate

attempt was made in 1871 to revive the myth and the glory of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation which had been destroyed by Napoleon. But in reality the Hohenzollern monarchy had grown up and expanded separately from, and in opposition to, the Holy Roman Empire.

The new German Empire was born on the battlefield, "through iron and blood" as its founder had prophesied in 1862. The Franco-Prussian war and the great victories over France unleashed a tide of virulent nationalism such as Germany had never seen. In August, 1870, the vice-chancellor of Berlin University solemnly proclaimed during an academic celebration:

> Europe cannot exterminate the French as, if need be, America can exterminate the Red Indians. But it might happen that they will be terribly gagged. . . . Since the day of decision we have no other thought but war, war; war to the knife, war to the last drop of blood, to the last taler against this personified lie, the Second Empire, against this immoral nation of peace-murderers, the French!

These feelings of hatred were echoed on the left by a Social Democratic paper in July, 1870:

> Except for a minute number of people whose hatred of Prussia drives them into treason, only one thought animates the whole wide country, from Lake Constance to Slesvig, from the Rhine to the Vistula: to defend the honour and the freedom of the nation against a foreign despot, against the robber-like assault of the perjurious tyrant on the Seine.

Even Marx in his London exile wrote to Engels the same month:

> "The French need a whipping." But he did not forget to add that a Prussian victory would bring "the preponderance of *our* theory over that of Proudhon".

This virulent nationalism—as Wolfgang Zorn emphasizes in one of the sixteen essays assembled by Theodor Schieder and Ernst Deuerlein in the volume to commemorate the *Reichsgründung*—was deliberately reinforced by the annual celebrations of the great victories, in particular that of Sedan, which united the German-speaking citizens of the Reich but excluded its national minorities, the Poles, the Danes, and the French of Alsace-Lorraine. Their integration was not achieved; the increasing virulence of nationalism on all sides made their reconciliation with the united Germany impossible. It is of special interest that two of the essays published here deal specifically with the national minorities.

Lothar Gall, writing on "The Problem of Alsace-Lorraine", shows on the basis of his own and other researches that it is no longer possible to maintain the opinion that a reluctant Bismarck was driven to the annexation by the pressure of public opinion; on the contrary, he decided in favour of annexation very early and on his own initiative, and he never made the slightest attempt to win over the public to the iden of a peace of reconciliation and without territorial expansion. Bismarck expressly rejected the suggestion of the *Kölnische Zeitung* that only Alsace should be taken from France or that the language frontier should become the political frontier. That the population had no wish to become German was deliberately disregarded. As the leader of the Württemberg Liberals remarked,

> The aversion of the population does not concern us, for we are neither sentimental politicians nor doctrinal fools. Nationality will reassert itself soon, and until then these territories can if necessary be kept in check by military means and be ruled accordingly.

Thus, as Professor Gall concludes, the means of power of the conquering princely state to a large extent supplanted the force of national integration—with results that might have been foreseen.

The case of the other national minorities was different and yet strangely similar. Government policy aimed at the assimilation of the Poles to the "higher" German culture, mainly through an extension of German language teaching. In 1871 Bismarck emphasized that the laws did not prohibit this,

> but that the influence of the local clergy prevented the use of the German language, because the Slav and Latin races in alliance with Ultramontanism try to preserve brutality and ignorance and everywhere in Europe try to fight Germanism which aims to spread enlightenment.

Therefore the Polonizing influence of the clergy in the schools must be opposed more energetically. Thus in 1872-73 German was made the obligatory teaching language for all subjects in the eastern provinces of Prussia by government decree. The native language was admitted only in religious teaching, and that only in the lowest forms, and even there further restrictions were introduced later, resulting in the great Polish school strikes of the early twentieth century.

In 1888 German was also made the sole teaching language in North Slesvig: the Danes, although Lutherans like the Germans, were not treated more favourably. In the Polish provinces it was the intimate connexion of the national and the religious struggles which gave to the conflict an explosive character it did not assume in Slesvig. As Oswald Hauser puts it in his important contribution on "Poles and Danes in the German Reich", "Berlin more and more burdened itself with the odium of the suppressor of the national will".

In 1886 a law was passed "to further German settlement in the provinces of West Prussia and Posnania". During the parliamentary debate Bismarck stated brusquely:

> Who does not want to cooperate with the state for its protection does not belong to the state and has no rights in the state; he must withdraw from the state.

100 million marks were voted to transfer Polish landed property into

THEODOR SCHIEDER and ERNST DEUERLEIN (Editors):
Reichsgründung 1870/71
475pp. Stuttgart: Seewald. DM 36.

FRIEDRICH MEINECKE:
Cosmopolitanism and the National State
Translated by Robert B. Kimber.
403pp. Princeton University Press: Oxford University Press. £6.

MICHAEL STURMER (Editor):
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German hands, with the aim of germanizing the eastern provinces. Thirty thousand "undesirable aliens", mainly Poles, were expelled in 1885. These were but the first steps in a long series of sharper and sharper anti-Polish measures which were to reach their culmination in the twentieth century.

If the Poles and other non-Germans were, in Bismarck's eyes, *Reichsfeinde* (enemies of the Empire) par excellence, they were consigned to the same category as his internal enemies—Catholics, Guelphs, Progressives, Radicals and Socialists—in short, all those who did not unhesitatingly accept Bismarck's solution of the German question and who opposed his policy for one reason or another. If all these groups were added up, they amounted to a large majority of the citizens. As Professor Zorn says, writing on "The Economy and Society in Germany", the working classes were integrated so insufficiently that the gulf between them and the leading groups became unbridgable. Walter Bussmann adds that the integration of the "socially expansive" middle class did not succeed either, because of the great strength of the nobility and the other traditional forces. As early as 1871, Heinrich von Treitschke coined the phrase "the Prussian Reich of the German nation". And in 1895 Max Weber warned:

> It is dangerous and in the long run incompatible with the interests of the nation if an economically declining class retains political power in its hands.

Now Dr. Elisabeth Fehrenbach, in an essay on "The *Reichsgründung* in German historiography", states categorically:

> The weakness of the Bismarckian Empire consisted in its social limitation to nobility and officer corps as the leading group, to which the upper middle class only too readily assimilated out of a need for political and military protection as well as out of class interest.

Thus what Friedrich Meinecke, in his *Cosmopolitanism and the National State*, published in 1907 and now made available in an excellent translation, still considered a source of strength is now seen as one of weakness. The state which became the first industrial power on the European continent did not permit its bourgeoisie a political influence commensurate with its economic advance.

With regard to the Catholic Church, Bismarck is reported to have said in 1877 in a meeting of the Prussian cabinet:

> I will, if I remain in office, wage the *Kulturkampf* to its utmost limit, to a limit to which perhaps not all those present will go with me. . . . The *Kulturkampf* is the only question of world-historical importance. He would rather suffer the rule of the Social Democrats than that of the Jesuits which made for stupidity. . . .

But, only eight months later, he declared in the crown council that "a war of destruction" must be waged against Social Democracy through legal measures striking at its associations, meetings, and press, and curtailing the right of free movement (by expulsions and internments). And to the king of Bavaria Bismarck wrote at that time of "the growth of the Social Democratic danger, the year-by-year increase of the band of robbers with whom together we live in our larger towns".

Many years later he still maintained that a "state of war" existed between the state and Social Democracy: thus "the state is entitled and . . . obliged to treat them according to martial law", while the party, like an invading army, had no right to claim the protection of the law. Yet it was Bismarck himself who had created this "state of war" by his laws against the socialists. It took them a very long time to overcome their alienation from state and society. Under Bismarck the party lived as it were in a ghetto, entirely undeserved by the political moderation of its leaders.

The national, social and religious cleavages which separated the citizens of the Reich were probably the fundamental structural weakness of the house that Bismarck built. But there were others, especially in the constitutional field. There was the unresolved constitutional dualism between the institutions of Prussia and those of the Empire—bridged only by the powerful personality of Bismarck, who was simultaneously prime minister of Prussia and chancellor of the Reich. At times the second chamber of the Prussian Diet, elected on the basis of a narrow property franchise, exercised stronger influence than the Reichstag, elected by universal male franchise. The multitude of parliaments did not make for a clear division of competences, but kept them all relatively weak. This seems to have been Bismarck's intention; in 1870 he remarked: "One must feed the people with parliaments as the confectioners' apprentices are fed with sweets." The military sphere was largely outside parliamentary control, in spite of the Reichstag's budgetary rights, because the military budget was granted for seven years at a time and because there was no parliamentary control of military expenditure.

Unresolved, too, was the dualism between civilian and military authorities which had led to bitter conflicts between Bismarck and the generals during the Franco-Prussian War. The "demi-gods" of the Prussian general staff deeply resented what they considered Bismarck's unwarranted interference with the conduct of war, and refused to inform him about their military plans, as Eberhard Kolb shows in his contribution to *Reichsgründung 1870/71* on "Conduct of War and Politics". It may have been for this reason that Bismarck vetoed the creation of a Reich ministry of war. As he pointed out to the Grand Duke of Baden in 1873, there would be continuous collisions between the War Minister and the Chancellor, and this would weaken the government. Until 1918 there was a Prussian War Minister, but none for Germany. While he was in office Bismarck was strong enough to withstand the encroachments of the general staff. So long as the dualism between William I and Bismarck was functioning, Professor Bussmann comments, "it was possible to adjust time and again the conflict between the political and military leadership. A weaker successor on the throne of the Hohenzollerns lacked this capacity to make adjustments". In the course of the First World War the conflict broke out openly and ended with the rout of the civilian authorities.

Bismarck considered it his task, as he wrote in 1883, "to preserve and to strengthen the position of the royal government vis-à-vis the power claims of the parliaments which are increasing every year", but he failed to achieve this. Under weak successors the influence of parliament, in spite of its limited constitutional rights, continued to grow. But the leaders of the political parties remained excluded from the exercise of political power and became accustomed to address their constituents from the rostrum of parliament, to make propaganda speeches "out of the window", since they could not influence government policy. When the collapse came in 1918, the party leaders were totally inexperienced in the exercise of power or in the running of the machinery of government. Bismarck had monopolized political power, but he was unable to provide for a capable successor. Yet there was no change in a constitutional system which had been tailored to his needs. It is a pity that aspects such as these are not discussed by the contributors to *Reichsgründung 1870-71*, and that there is no essay on the role of parliaments in the Bismarckian system. But much additional information can be found in the volume of documents edited by Michael Stürmer from which many of the quotations in this review have been taken. Many of the documents are previously unpublished; they form a valuable addition to the vast documentation on Bismarck and his policies. Dr. Stürmer indeed remarks on "the fateful legacy which burdened Germany's political development" because Bismarck left the political parties "without power, without responsibility".

The German Reich of 1871 to its contemporaries seemed immensely strong and healthy, vigorous and powerful. Bismarck was glorified by the historians, not only those of Germany. They tried to trace "the German vocation of Prussia into the Middle Ages. They ... ered, as Dr. Fehrenbach put German history was

> a teleological process of ... which led from Luther and ... mation, via the Great Elec... Frederick the Great, to the ... Prussian reforms, to find its ... apogee in the work of Bismarck.

Bismarck, Erich Marcks wrote, that time was the ... nation... he truly personified Reich".

To what extent national ... and the flush of victory ... nation is shown by Ernst ... *Die Gründung des Deutschen ... 1870/71 in Augenzeugen...* But there were also, even in ... very few discordant voices ... stand out all the more sharply ... the popular writer Gustav ... wrote:

> The new organization of the Roman Empire is a construction such curious holes that ... Bismarck in the long run will ... to inhabit it. And if a tempest ... out some time, the provisional ... might be tossed about and blow ... as if it had never existed.

Equally interesting is the ... critical report of Theodor ... on his visit to Alsace in 1871, ... he was able to observe the ... methods of occupation, the ... maxim of which was *schaf ...* (intervene sharply). In the ... it was Bebel's lone voice which ... tested against the annexation ... general interruptions. The ... also offers a great deal of ... about the methods used by ... to overcome the opposition ... South German states to Germ... fication, the pressure applied ... to Bavarin in particular, the "... screws à la Bismarck", put ... the more pliant Württemberg, ... the extensive use made of ... Liberal deputies to bring about ... fication. But the South Ge... governments, too, were expos... the strong pressure of German ... opinion, and national enthusiasm ... particularly marked *in their ...* fighting in France *side by side* ... the Prussians. *All hesitations* ... drowned *in this general* mood.

Today, after two world wars ... the catastrophe of the Third ... more sober councils prevail. ... centenary has provided an ... tunity for reassessment. It is ... credit of the present generation ... German historians—its older ... as its younger members—that ... assessment is in general cool ... free from historical nostalgia, ... ing out the positive as well as ... negative features of German ... tion and of Bismarck's achieve... German unity lasted for only ... forty-five years: at present there ... no indication whether it will ever ... restored. The out-of-date social ... political structure which Bism... had preserved collapsed under ... stress of the First World War. ... work was imposing but ephem...

When the U.S.S.R. was young

OLGA A. NARKIEWICZ:
The Making of the Soviet State Apparatus
238pp. Manchester University Press. £3.

In spite of its title, this book does not deal with the emergence of the Soviet civil service or the Communist Party machine, and we are told almost nothing about their numbers, social composition and mode of operation. Instead Dr. Narkiewicz takes as her theme the social and economic conditions in town and country in the first twelve years after 1917, and considers the wisdom or otherwise of the behaviour of the Soviet Communist Party against this background.

She traces back many of the later difficulties to the Civil War period. The inexperienced Bolsheviks, faced with "the mistakes of pre-revolutionary governments and the ravages of war", proved unable to devise institutions which would attract the support of the majority of the population. The Poor Peasants' Committees, which attempted to arm one section of the village and set it against the prosperous kulaks, had to be abandoned within a few months. Workers' control or management of factories "lasted barely a year after the Bolshevik revolution and cannot be said to have been given a fair trial". The inability of the new government to handle the peasants and their lack of wisdom in failing to secure the active participation of the working class presaged, according to Dr. Narkiewicz, the difficulties of the following decade. During the 1920s, the Bolsheviks, unwilling to permit the revival of individual agriculture along Stolypin lines, allowed a strong peasant communal organization to re-establish itself, and the network of rural soviets remained ineffective in the towns, the influx of "pauperized peasants in search of non-existent industrial jobs" led from 1925 onwards to a crisis with which the government were unable to cope owing to the "stundstill" in industry. By the summer of 1929, Dr. Narkiewicz asserts, starvation in the towns gave rise to emergency measures to seize the grain from the peasants; by mid-October the government was therefore faced with rebellion and peasant war, to which it responded by launching the collectivization drive as a punitive measure. Dr. Narkiewicz concludes that the government was driven by social and economic forces outside its control but must, however, itself bear some part of the blame:

> The government had erred in every way, it had not taken the trouble to produce an efficient administrative system; its efforts at education, while better than those of the tsarist regime, were directed at other objectives; the industrialization programme was badly timed and badly introduced; above all, its indecision in agricultural matters harmed the country immeasurably for many years to come.

These arguments are a curious mixture of fact, conjecture and unjustified speculation. It is undoubtedly a fact that Bolshevik policy towards agriculture throughout the 1920s was vacillating. It may be true that Bolshevik policy towards industry was inefficient and that it would have been better, as Dr. Narkiewicz suggests, to divert the time and money spent on organizing production conferences to the provision ... better training (though this ... does not quite cohere with ... enthusiasm for workers' parti... tion). It is almost certainly ... that the peasants launched any... that could be described as a civil ... against the government in the aut... of 1929. It is certainly untrue ... industry was at a standstill in ... middle or later 1920s or that ... in the towns was widespread ... to have provided the major ... for the emergency measures of ... The Soviet leaders can take ... credit (or more blame, according ... one's point of view) for the cr... decisions at the end of 1929 that ... Narkiewicz supposes; the collec... zation drive was not so much ... inevitable outcome of an attempt ... break out of stagnation as the ... quence, itself unplanned, of a ... effort to switch the economy ... moderate to very rapid ... expansion.

In spite of these weaknesses, ... Narkiewicz's re-examination of ... decisive years will undoubtedly ... ulate further study of the issues ... which she draws attention.

Coming down to earth

...RTIS CATE:
...ine de Saint-Exupéry
...p. Heinemann. £4 4s.

...question-mark which still hangs ... Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's ...th—his disappearance on a recon... ...ssance flight over the Rhône ...y in July, 1944, is still unac... ...ted for—remains an appropriate ...gph. It is still difficult to know ... to make of him as a man; even ...ilitary leadership. A weaker ... his place as a writer seems ...ed. Three of his works—*Vol de ...*, *Terre des Hommes* (better ...wn perhaps as *Wind, Sand and ...*), and that child's classic which ...eals mostly to adults, *Le Petit ...*—have each sold close on two ...ion copies. Yet the complex ...racter of their author is still ...uded by contradiction, contro... ...y and conjecture. Was Saint-...ery primarily pilot, philosopher ...el? How can one reconcile the ...der who always wanted to be in... ...the individualist who always ...ed to be out; the patriarchal ...opher with the child who never ...; the veteran pilot with the ...minded airman whose career ...marked by a litter of unnecessary ...hes?

...rtis Cate's careful, conscientious ...much-needed biography answers ...y of the questions that any ...der of Saint-Exupéry must ask ...self. Previous works, notably ...e by Maxwell Knight and Marcel ...co, have concentrated primarily ...the periods of Saint-Exupéry's life ...at have become famous because of ...se of his own works which grew ...of them; but it is Mr. Cate's ...icular merit that he pays equal ...ention to the valleys between the ...peaks, to the less well-known ...ods of Saint-Exupéry's life: his ...hood, the disheartening period ...job-hunting before he found his ...fighting in France *side by side* ...y to the stars, the difficult time in ...1930s when the momentum of ...e magnificent mail-flights, that ...o really voyages of exploration, ...been lost in the vortex of ...sian politics, the years of disillu... ...and dissension in America ...*during the war.*

Clearly Saint-Exupéry's childhood ...perience—in particular the early ...s of his father, and the enchanted ...days in the chateau at Saint-...urice-de-Rémens—marked him in ...way or the other for life. No less ...portant was the coincidence that ...ed his widowed mother to move ...family to Le Mans in 1909—Le ...s then being the airfield from ...ch Wilbur Wright was making ...y of his sensational and record-breaking flights. Saint-Exupéry was of an age when nowadays he might have idolized footballers or pop stars. Then and there it was only natural that his adolescent admiration should have turned to the nearby airmen. One of them, Jules Védrines—who at one time held the world speed record of 167 kilometres an hour—amused by the interest of a small boy who had approached him on the airfield, picked the boy up, put him in the rear cockpit and took him for a short flight. Who knows for what this kind-hearted if somewhat perilous gesture may have been responsible?

No one could write better about the pioneering part of his life than Saint-Exupéry has already done himself. In consequence one always has the sound of Saint-Exupéry's voice in one's ears when reading Mr. Cate's account of those early mail-flights over Spain, when the aircraft were so flimsy that a passenger could be whipped out of the rear cockpit by the force of the wind; over North Africa, when the aircraft always flew in pairs so that when one was forced down, as often happened, the other could land and take the pilot off before he was massacred by tribesmen; and over South America, where the elemental hazards were perhaps greatest of all, and where Saint-Exupéry once found himself being steadily blown out to sea by a wind that was stronger than the full force of his engine. But again Mr. Cate fills in usefully the sad end of the story, when all this remarkable effort and courage foundered in financial and political intrigue.

Describing the last wartime period in America after the fall of France, Mr. Cate shows how much of Saint-Exupéry's final disillusionment was due to his disgust at the bitter infighting that went on between the various sections of Free French opinion. At the time of the fall of France, Saint-Exupéry, then a reconnaissance pilot, flow with what remained of his squadron over to North Africa. But he then chose to return to France, being one of the many who were then undecided whether it was better to remain in France to attempt to alleviate her agony, or to continue the fight outside. On this visit he went to Vichy and to occupied Paris; and it was perhaps unfortunate that he did so, since he was ever afterwards suspected of Vichyite sympathies. All would, of course, have been forgotten and forgiven had he chosen to throw in his lot with the Gaullists, but Saint-Exupéry's idea and ideal was for a united effort that included all Frenchmen. So he refused to commit himself to one particular group.

For this admirable aloofness he had, in the days of the Gaullist domination, to pay dearly. It is hard to forgive de Gaulle for the indifference with which he treated Saint-Exupéry's claims not only as one of the most distinguished of French writers but as one of the most distinguished and ardent of French patriots—in particular his reputed remark, when Saint-Exupéry's credentials were put before him with the suggestion that he should be given a worthwhile job, "He is good only for card tricks"—at which, it is perfectly true, Saint-Exupéry was quite exceptionally talented).

There are still necessarily some important gaps in Saint-Exupéry's personal life. How much happiness his marriage with Consuelo Carrillo, a South American widow whose volatile personality tended to aggravate rather than to temper his own faults, brought him, and how much the breaking of his earlier engagement to Louise de Vilmorin, which took him out of the French air force, cost him, Mr. Cate is clearly not in a position to explore fully. Saint-Exupéry valued friendship highly—possibly higher than love—and as a friend could be both enchanting and maddening. He was extremely loyal and, in most moods, entertaining. But he was liable to ring his friends up in the small hours to read over to them the pages he had just written, for he habitually worked at night; and his grand seigneurial extravagance was difficult to cope with in everyday life.

Mr. Cate could have made a necessarily long book slightly less so by cutting out some of the literary criticism, which seems to have no place here, and by omitting the explanatory chapter on *Citadelle*, which is anyway largely inexplicable. Although in middle age Mr. Cate has achieved a reputation as scholar and critic, this is his first book, and the writing in the early chapters shows some signs of straining for effect. But he soon gets into his stride, and all that breaks it thereafter are some curious Americanisms which look out of place in such a scholarly work: "he holed up in a dingy room", "the three sisters were in secret cahoots with Daurat". If Mr. Cate's book is likely to appeal most to those who like reading between the lines—the lines being those of Saint-Exupéry's own works—it is clearly a labour of love as well as of many years, and is an indispensable guide for those who like to chart the course of Saint-Exupéry on the ground as well as in the air.

Prophet without honour

...FRED DOBLIN:
...fe
...pp. Olten: Walter Verlag.
...w.fr.

...selection of more than 400 ...rs by Alfred Döblin, dating from ...until a few months before the ...r's death in 1957, was begun ...ediate Walter Muschg and con... ...ed by Heinz Graber. In general, ...e more biographical and histo... ...interest than any great release ...Döblin's literary works. "A ...er's comments on his own work ...ys have something inappropriate, ...embarrassing to them". Döblin ...te to Martin Buber in 1915. And ...ough he was to become a little ...e willing to comment on his own ...ks in later years, especially in ...ersion with the cycle about revo... ...ary Berlin at the end of the First ...d War, Döblin is at his most ...able when describing episodes ...m his own life: as a medical ...er during the war, later as an ...e in Hollywood, or as an émigré ...rning to Germany in 1945 with ...rank of officer in the occupying ...ch Army.

...wo highlights and two depres... ...e mark Döblin's life as seen in ...e letters. His connexion with ...rwalden and the Expres... ...sionist periodical *Der Sturm* is the ...first hopeful period. A sense of ...energy permeates these early letters ...and continues into the Weimar ...period as Döblin engages in various ...political debates, writes to publishers ...and men of letters and tries to bring ...about a much-needed rapprochement ...between the academic world and the ...major writers of his time. But after ...emigrating to Paris in 1933, at the ...beginning of the archetypal journey ...he sees little to describe as his *Schicksalsreise*, Döblin could com... ...plain: "The world is such a mess. ...This one year is like half a century." ...Nevertheless, he had yet to face the ...isolation and lack of recognition in a ...Californian exile so different from ...Thomas Mann's.

Back in Germany in 1945, the old Döblin re-emerges—endeavouring to resuscitate what he calls a "decapitated literature" with his periodical *Das goldene Tor*, presenting his own Hamlet-novel to various uninterested publishers and trying to maintain links with Johannes R. Becher and his literary colleagues behind the Iron Curtain. However, disillusionment soon reappears. The returned émigré feels an ever more powerful iron curtain within his own country: in the apparent conspiracy not to publish or acknowledge his efforts, "They've learnt nothing", he complains, sensing the dangers of a dormant fascism; and he eventually decides he must return to Paris, to a second exile. "Conditions do not tempt me very much to write anything new", Döblin observes with resignation. Yet it is in these years of depression, both in Hollywood and in West Germany, that Döblin becomes a more prolific and most informative letter-writer.

The edition is admirably served by detailed explanatory notes, taking up about a quarter of the volume. But it seems a pity that such a generally well-produced addition to the collected works is only equipped with an index of names (enigmatically sub-titled "selection") and has no subsequent *Werkregister*.

Editorial Sudamericana of Buenos Aires have just published a composite hardback volume of the short stories of the Argentinian writer Julio Cortázar: *Relatos* (650pp.). Included are the stories published in *Bestiario* (1951), *Las armas secretas* (1959), *Final del juego* (1964), *Todos los fuegos al fuego* (1966). Sr. Cortázar has taken the chance to disturb the chronological order of the stories and regroup them in three sections as "Ritos", "Juegos" and "Pasajes".

JANUARY TITLES FROM MACMILLAN

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65p (13s)

MACMILLAN

Curial Rome

ROBERT E. A. PALMER:
The Archaic Community of the Romans
328pp. Cambridge University Press. £4 5s.

Here is a really important and exciting book—not for the general reader, not for the broad world of scholars, not even for the generality of Roman historians, but for those who strive to recapture the life of the first Rome of all, curial Rome, Rome earlier than the Seven Hills, earlier than Servius Tullius and the centuries. It is a subject on which there are already as many conflicting hypotheses as there are scholars in the field.

It is a common criticism of such scholars that there is an apparent capriciousness in the selection of evidence which they accept and the rejection of other evidence on no compelling logical ground. The criticism of Professor Palmer will be different: that he rejects almost no evidence at all. Occasionally, of course, he manipulates it a little to suit his purpose—altering a figure, for instance, because it has to be altered to fit his theory. Others have done the same.

The Archaic Community of the Romans is a fast-moving book, panting with excitement. It makes no concessions to the reader; so that, while it is never unreadable, its argument is sometimes very difficult to follow. But let nobody be misled by this fact into thinking that it is not one of the most original books to be written on Roman history for a long time. It divides into two parts. The first part is a matter of applying the skills of anthropology, archaeology and philology, together with creative imagination, to the written evidence of, in particular, Varro, Festus and Dionysius and to recorded vestigial festivals and celebrations and public practices, of whose survival into historic time there can be no doubt at all: it deals with the very beginnings of Roman society, curial Rome. Professor Palmer envisages a completely mixed people at the start: Latins, Sabines, Etruscans. Each group, as it joined the Union, brought a symbolical sod of earth and its own Juno. The organization of this society, a society in the end of thirty Curiae, was a civilian organization, in contrast to the later military organization of the Centuries. Each Curia had its peculiar rites, deities and augural station. They celebrated the end and the beginning of the year with sacrifices and banquets. They voted as separate units.

This part of the book has a stimulating originality and is, at first reading, highly persuasive. The second part concerns the relation of the curial to the centumviral and tribal political organizations of Rome in the first two centuries of the Republic. Who were the Patricians? Who were the Fathers? What was the Struggle of the Orders all about? It is this part which, for all its cleverness, will come under attack.

Professor Palmer's ingenuity is fascinating. The saying "Sexagenarios e ponte"—whose original meaning most people in antiquity thought to be that after sixty men were best dead, and L. R. Taylor that at sixty men were too senile to be allowed to vote—simply referred, if Professor Palmer is right, to the annual ceremony of throwing the thatch from the curial sanctuaries and augural sites, made up to look like dummies, into the Tiber. The origin of the "linen books", which for Licinius Macer were an important source of historical information, lay, the author suggests, in the linen clothing worn by commanding tribunes on which they made notes (like clerks sixty or seventy years ago scribbling their calculations on the starched cuffs of their shirts?).

Scholarship in this field is something of a dog-fight. Here is Professor Palmer, who barks splendidly; but wait until the other dogs get at him. Will they succeed in faulting him as a philologist? How much will they accept of his account of the politics of the early Republic?

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Exploring the ancient city

MICHAEL GRANT:
The Roman Forum
240pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £2 15s.

ANTHONY BIRLEY:
Imperial Rome
Drawings by Alan Sorrell.
53pp. Lutterworth Press. 30s.

Few places can present so many different faces as the Roman Forum: to the scholar an inexhaustible mine of learned inquiry; to the hurried group-tourist an incoherent jumble of ruins, to be fitted in somewhere between the Colosseum and St. Peter's; to the more leisurely visitor an oasis of wistaria-clad enchantment amid the bustle of modern Rome; to the student of classical literature an evocation of many of the most familiar scenes and topics of Roman antiquity. Today, as the numbers dwindle of those who were brought up on Cicero and Ovid, on the cheerful vulgarities of Plautus, on episodes such as Horace's classic encounter with the club bore beside the Via Sacra, the problem of presenting this crowded acre of history in the round is a very real one. There are guide books a-plenty to tell us which stone was what. But what was it all about?

Professor Grant's book is an attempt to meet this need. A short introductory section surveys the broad significance of the Forum, how it came into being, and what its place was in the daily life of ancient Rome. From this we pass to the main body of the book, a description of each of the principal surviving monuments and something of the historical events associated with them. A final section carries us through the dark centuries of the Forum's decline, the piecemeal dismemberment of its monuments during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and their rediscovery and partial recomposition in modern times. A useful appendix describes some of the vanished monuments known to us only from literature or from representations in sculpture or on coins. Another tells us something of the building materials used by the Romans. The illustrations, mostly after the excellent photographs of Werner Forman, are relevant and helpful.

In a book so crammed with detail one can inevitably find points of dispute and a few downright mistakes. On page 31 the Forum is described as just over a mile from the Tiber (it is in fact barely a quarter of a mile). A few lines later it reads as if Professor Grant believed (as did an earlier generation of scholars) that the activity of the volcanoes of Latium was a matter of the quite recent prehistoric past. Again, although brick was on occasion used as a facing material in its own right "in final rejection of the Greek heritage of stone exteriors", even in late antiquity it was in fact far more commonly faced with stucco and (in monumental architecture at any rate) with stucco treated so as to resemble the ashlar masonry for which it was a cheap substitute. But these are trivial matters beside the skill with which Professor Grant has selected from the unwieldy mass of available material, both documentary and archaeological, and has marshalled it to answer just the sort of questions that the ordinary intelligent visitor wants to ask. This is no substitute for the conventional guide book; but as a book to read before and after visiting the heart of ancient Rome it can be warmly recommended.

Imperial Rome, strung rather self-consciously around a series of imaginative reconstructions by Alan Sorrell, sets out to illustrate the buildings and something of the life of Rome in the time of Constantine the Great. As always Mr. Sorrell has done his homework conscientiously, and to older readers of the *Illustrated London News* his drawings will have a certain nostalgic But neither his industry familiar mannerisms can shortcomings as an draughtsman. The detail obstrusive, just where it wisely have been allowed with the background. Mc larger views adopt a plung point, no doubt because borrowed more or less dre the well-known model Rome in the Museo Romana. But this is which the camera does better: witness the photo the same model reproduc Istituto di Studi Romani's *di Roma*, or the superb photographs of modern Ro Touring Club Italiano's *Roma*. On the other hand inside the Pantheon, should have every advant the camera. Mr. Sorrell simply does not come damaging of all is the falsification of scale and pe The views of the Palatine Circus Maximus are a blend of Piranesi at his mo and Cecil B. De Mille.

As readers we are in accompany a group of early century visitors plodding round the sights of Rome. Our guide, Dr. Birley, of improving information about the individual monume about the contemporary soci But the day is warm and, truth, his voice grows rather tonous. Let us slip quietly a

The last four books (V-VI Herodian's *History* have j published in the "Loeb Cl Library" (Translated by Whittaker. 335pp. *Heinemann*. Since this is *an essential* work students of the later Roman they will be glad to have in convient u form a text and tra which is both up-to-date and

Kingdom, republic, empire and Emperor

DONALD DUDLEY:
The Romans
316pp. Hutchinson. £3.

MICHAEL GRANT:
Nero
272pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £3 15s.

Donald Dudley's book is stimulatingly introduced by J. H. Plumb, editor of the "History of Human Society" series in which it takes its place. History has become too narrow and erudite, a matter of sharpening pins' heads, a conglomeration of Ph.D. theses; but the books in this series are to recapture the broad sweep of events. That is a cheerful start.

There are at least three (probably more) books in print with *The Romans* for their title. This one would better have been called "A Historical View of the Romans" or "The Romans seen through their History", for it is an A to Z book, starting with Romulus and ending with the barbarians. Such books are not easy to write. You must move at breakneck speed to cover a thousand years and more in a mere hundred thousand words, and always you must be wondering about your readers, the runners in the paper-chase. Are they keeping up, or are they dropping out?

There are dull passages, admittedly, where readers may drop out, complaining of readers' stitch; but there are vivid and exciting passages to compensate. In general it is clear that Professor Dudley is more interested in literature and in thought (his account of Posidonius is excellent) than he is in history itself, and that in history he feels less at home in the Republic than in the Empire, which he treats well, particularly because he does not see it as a mere sequence of individual emperors' reigns. In the Republican section there are some mistakes, and also some surprising remarks. For instance: "From the third century onwards the commonest form of marriage bond was one which allowed the woman control of her own property after the age of 25." Republican history, too, is sometimes over-simplified, as a conflict of goodies and baddies: Lucullus and Sertorius were goodies, Pompey and Caesar baddies.

History is at its best, naturally, when it is asking questions. This kind of book inevitably gives the answers without having time to ask the questions at all; but *The Romans* is a book which it is easier to criticize than to write, and few scholars could have done it better than Professor Dudley has done.

For Michael Grant, too, Caesar, when he wrote a book about him, was a baddy, while Nero, if not exactly a goody, is a far more sympathetic character. And that is a modern outlook, for in many ways Nero was a hippy before his time, and Caesar clearly was not a hippy at all. It is true that Nero killed people—his own brother and mother for a start, and the Christians later with a refinement of cruel butchery; but, it appears, he only killed when he was frightened. Of course he was clever, as every member of his mother's family was clever, and even at the imperial level he had interesting, sometimes startling, ideas.

But it is the artist in him with whom Professor Grant has an immediate sympathy, and you will not find anywhere else a more detailed, yet clearer and more understanding account of the novelties embodied in the architecture of the Golden House or of the artistry of its decoration and furnishing. His illustrations to find the letterpress the illustrations themselves remarkably good, splendidly duced, nearly all from the N period and completely relevant. fessor Grant is a master in this *qualis artifex*, as Nero himself have been the first to co Professor Dudley's illustrati the other hand, though th excellently reproduced, are what narrow and uniform in They show the layout of public and private buildings centuriation. A little more would have been welcom mosaic or two, for instance.

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Edward Arnold

Twentieth-century gossip

H. H. STUCKENSCHMIDT:
Germany and Central Europe
256pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £2 15s.

To cover a field as wide as music in Central Europe in the twentieth century in a small book of some 250 pages is no easy task. But Professor Stuckenschmidt, in this first published volume of the "Twentieth Century Composers" series, has made it harder by casting it in the form of a series of chapters of roughly equal length, each devoted to a single composer. The absurdity of giving as much space to Franz Schreker as to Schoenberg needs no underlining. But even more detrimental than this lack of balance is Professor Stuckenschmidt's failure to give a clear account of the main forces at work in his area over the past seventy years. For want of it, an uninformed reader (and it is hard to see how this sketchy volume could be of use to readers who already have some knowledge of its subject matter) will find it hard to form an overall picture of the period.

As though the task of outlining a composer's biography, output and significance in ten pages did not in itself present a sufficient problem, Professor Stuckenschmidt has magnified it by a repeated failure to distinguish the trivial from the essential. Indeed, at moments his method is merely anecdotal. The only mention of Bartók's Violin Concerto (the book takes in Hungarian, Czech and Swiss composers as well as German and Austrian composers) is as follows:

When the present writer visited [Bartók] in 1938 manuscripts were strewn all over his table. He explained they were of a violin concerto written for the Hungarian violinist, Zoltán Szekely.

Similarly, some account, however perfunctory, of the development of Kurt Weill's crucial relationship to Brecht would have been more useful than a list of prominent members of the audience at the premiere of *Die Dreigroschenoper*, and the name of the ballet, in fact *Die Sieben Todsünden*, on which Brecht and Weill collaborated in Paris in 1933, more helpful than the name of the café in which they temporarily made up their differences. The space that Professor Stuckenschmidt devotes to a narration of the political gyrations of such a minor composer as Werner Egk might have been more profitably devoted to Hans Pfitzner, a composer of real substance, who is unjustly neglected outside Central Europe and goes unmentioned in this book.

A failure to make any reference to the crucial differences in style between Mahler's earlier and later symphonies may perhaps be attributed to the fact that the author regards them, one and all, as "the extension and large-scale expansion of songs". Amplification of generalizations, such as "the thematic wealth in his development of contrapuntal ideas . . . leaves the mind confused", might have proved more useful than discussion of Alma Mahler's social status or of the beard which Mahler wore as a young man and was trimmed down to a mere moustache during his Prague appointment.

Nor is Professor Stuckenschmidt reliable on matters of fact. As Hugo Wolf died in 1903 it is unlikely that Alban Berg (who, incidentally, did not celebrate his fiftieth birthday in 1934) attended his funeral in 1902. "Die alte Fürstin Resi" in *Der Rosenkavalier* was clearly not a countess. Leopold Stokowski did not conduct the premiere of Henze's *Prinz von Homburg*. The instrumentation of *Elegy for Young Lovers* does not dispense with strings and woodwind. If Schreker's *Ferne Klang* was not finished until 1911, it cannot have been heard in 1910; and as Karl Amadeus Hartmann died at the age of 58, it is improbable that he composed his Viola Concerto as a "contribution to his sixtieth birthday".

The anonymous translation contains errors. The Darmstadt Summer School is repeatedly described as taking place in Dortmund. It is unhelpful to refer to Strauss's opera as *The aegyptische Helena*, and Stockhausen's "Carré" as "Check". In English the canton of Waadtland is usually called Vaud. The numerous illustrations are, however, evocative and often amusing.

Up with the top brass

HORACE FITZPATRICK:
The Horn and Horn-Playing and the Austro-Bohemian Tradition from 1680 to 1830

Examples played by the author on record OUP 107.

256pp. Oxford University Press. £9 10s. the set.

The Horn and Horn-Playing traces the development of the horn from 1680, when it first assumed its orchestral status, to the final adoption of the valved horn around 1830. The author describes the numerous technical changes and improvements to the natural horn's design, its successive tonal and mechanical characteristics, and the ways composers wrote for it.

Dr. Fitzpatrick begins with a brief reference to the ancient horns used in Roman marching bands and to the sixteenth-century helical Jagdhorn of Germany—the true parent of the French horn. The earliest put on of this noble instrument emerges as one of the book's chief characters. It was almost certainly Count von Sporck, Imperial Privy Councillor and Chamberlain, Viceroy of Bohemia, who first introduced the cor-de-chasse to Bohemia after hearing the instrument played in Versailles. He was so attracted by the sweetness (*suavitas*) of the horn's sound that he instructed two of his retainers to learn the art of playing it. By doing so he founded the Bohemian school of concert horn playing, which has greatly influenced the national schools of Germany, Russia, the United States, and England.

Dr. Fitzpatrick gives a detailed, though mostly biographical, account of the many virtuoso horn players who extended the instrument's fame throughout Europe during the eighteenth century. The name of Anton Joseph Hampl (1710-71) is naturally included in the first register of players covering the years 1680-1760. It is often maintained that Hampl discovered hand-stopping in the 1770s. Dr. Fitzpatrick refutes this and proves his own theory with an intriguing study of music written earlier using notes which indicate a previous knowledge of this technique. Being an enthusiastic horn player himself, he has made an extensive study in the use of hand-stopping. In his concluding chapter on the natural horn's function today, he advocates a return to authenticity by performing music of the baroque and classical era on instruments of that period or modern replicas.

While agreeing with Dr. Fitzpatrick that there has been a noticeable deterioration of basic horn tone throughout the world's many orchestras as a result of numerous additions to the natural horn and of the shortening of the tube, it is not easy to accept the inequality of hand-stopped notes compared with the open sounds to which we are now accustomed. By ingenuity and necessity, the modern horn has become a complete three-and-a-half-octave chromatic instrument and, in the hands of adroit musicians who understand its history, the entire horn repertoire can be played, in better tune, with even tone throughout its compass, with a wider range of dynamics, and with considerably more accuracy than on the valveless instrument. The last is the most important factor, for both player and listener alike. If Dr. Fitzpatrick played the horn professionally in any of our London orchestras, and his livelihood depended on playing horn parts (whether symphonic, chamber or pop), then he might be more enthusiastic about the modern instrument. The fluffed note is now the exception rather than the once excusable rule, and it is not practicable to step backwards into the experimental days preceding the horn's chromatic emancipation.

The Horn and Horn-Playing is excellently produced and comes in a stout box container. One or two musical examples have a few wrongly printed notes that should have been corrected and the plate of the Le Brun "trompe Dauphine" 1729 is erroneously attributed to Crétien, Paris 1720. There is also a seven-inch record on which the author plays snippets of well-known horn excerpts on various instruments, including the valve horn. Concerted examples such as the quartet from the overture to *Der Freischütz* have made use of multi-tracking. Dr. Fitzpatrick playing all four horn parts. The recorded quality is poor and the intonation emphasizes the need to play this music on a modern valved instrument. This and other excerpts do not encourage one to support the author's belief in the revival of the early horn. To enjoy the book one must read first and play later.

Modern portraits

JOSEF HAUSLER:
Musik im 20. Jahrhundert von Schönberg zu Pendereckl
441pp. Bremen: Schünemann. DM 22.

The spacious introduction to this book is followed by fifty-six essays, each devoted to a single composer. These "portrait sketches" bear no claim to providing an exhaustive compendium of twentieth-century composers, but Hausler should perhaps be called to account for some of his odd favours of inclusion and omission. However, unstinted praise is due for the thorough and thought-provoking essays on Boulez, Henze and Ligeti; and many will relish the fresh and apt insights into Debussy and Ravel.

Hausler also presents an objective account of the musical scene today: he is clear-sighted, generous, and illuminates causes and effects in the various movements. He has interesting things to say about tonality—a subject often considered passé and irrelevant—to which he often returns, showing the render that tonality, in some reorganized or reconstituted form, might well again become an essential factor in music.

The folklorist school—of which Hausler considers "Stravinsky (his Russian period) and Béla Bartók the masters above all other masters"—had, in his view, an important ancestor in Debussy with his interest in the music of the Far East, and the author regards, perhaps surprisingly, Hindemith as a notable figure of this school. Discussing neo-classicism—a controversial concept still—he refers to Busoni, who first postulated the necessity of a "future classicism" and points, no less surprisingly, to Ravel (*Tombeau de Couperin*, 1914) as the first composer in whose music neo-classicism is wholly asserted.

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ADRIENNE RICH:
Snapshots of a Daughter-in-Law
64pp. Chatto and Windus. 21s.

When Elizabeth Bishop wished to explain her fondness for George Herbert, she praised his "absolute naturalness of tone" and said some of his poems were "almost surrealistic". She might easily have been describing her own effect. "Naturalness" suggests honesty, lack of artifice, Surrealism suggests fantasy, mystery, witty illusions. The terms are not easy to blend. Yet a combination of natural manner and mysterious matter is the brilliant feature of Miss Bishop's work.

The form her mixture takes is not the traditional retailing of wonders as truths or of the commonplace as wonderful but rather an absorbed loitering in the marches between dream and experience. One could make a book of Miss Bishop's poems about sleeping, dreaming, and early-morning waking. As complements to these there are descriptions of landscapes or objects that become dream-like as the poet watches them. Finally, there are portraits of people who seem to live in a dream. Few of Miss Bishop's best poems fall outside these classes; and at bottom the poems reveal more humour than satire, more sympathy than fear. The poet masters the mystery by contemplating it.

One method she employs to secure her special quality is witty anthropomorphism: here is a sample from "At the Fishhouses", a poem about Nova Scotia. Speaking of the seawater, Miss Bishop writes:

> Cold dark deep and absolutely clear,
> element bearable to no mortal,
> to fish and to seals . . . One seal particularly
> I have seen here evening after evening.
> He was curious about me. He was interested in music;
> like me a believer in total immersion,
> so I used to sing him Baptist hymns.
> I also sang "A Mighty Fortress is Our God."

He stood up in the water and regarded me
steadily, moving his head a little.
Then he would disappear, then suddenly emerge
almost in the same spot, with a sort of
leap
as if it were against his better judgment.
Cold dark deep and absolutely clear,
the clear gray icy water . . . .

The seal is puzzled and intrigued by the poet as the poet is by people who attract her. The water, suitable only for fish and seals, becomes at the end of the poem a symbol of knowledge, "dark, salt, clear, moving, utterly free". That is to say, on the one hand, closed off to us as the souls of fish and the essence of clouds, are closed off, and on the other hand, delivered too late; for the experience from which we learn about others is the experience for which we needed that very knowledge. Miss Bishop's fantasy and wit are devices for stopping the rift between passion and wisdom, hope and reality.

In "Cirque d'Hiver" it is a little toy horse, carrying an unresponsive ballerina, that watches the poet:

> Facing each other rather desperately—
> his eye is like a star—
> we stare and say, "Well, we have come this far."

They have both learnt what they cannot act upon. The humorous resignation is a means of extracting some pleasure from the impasse; it is a way of saying one knew it all along, of smiling at oneself for expecting anything different. Sympathy, not ridicule, is the tone.

To this sort of wit Miss Bishop joins an ear for subtle rhythms, incongruous rhymes, unpredictable repetitions. These signalize the control of the poet as artist over her experience as sufferer. The irony of the formal patterns saves the render from the strain of the deep feelings. So in "Questions of Travel", Miss Bishop asks herself why she has to visit a place like Brazil:

> To stare at some inexplicable old stone-work,
> inexplicable and impenetrable,
> at any view,
> instantly seen and always, always delightful?
> Oh, must we dream our dreams
> and have them, too?
> And have we room
> for one more folded sunset, still quite warm?

The witty synesthesin of "folded sunset", like the witty anthropomorphism of the encounter with the seal, bridges a gap between sense and sensibility. The rhymes and half-rhymes, appearing where one would never look for them, quietly convey the theme of uncertainty. The varieties of repetition suggest an economy of language suited to the plain, unaffected manner of a poet recording inscrutabilities. It is life that seems dark, not Miss Bishop.

The difference between Miss Bishop and the surrealists is precisely that she takes the real and not the fictive as the point of departure for her rapt contemplations, i.e., in her own words, that she wants "glimpses of the always-more-successful surrealism of everyday life". It is a vulgar error to suppose that a search for truth leads one away from intuition and imagination. In the most confined of arts, like that of the map-maker, one is most profoundly liberated from the quotidian: "More delicate than the historians' are the map-makers' colors."

Honesty, therefore, is the poet's greatest resource. Wherever one can verify the facts, one discovers that Miss Bishop has not made them up. Even the ballad "The Burglar of Babylon" is taken from newspaper accounts; and the poet herself saw the soldiers hunting for the wretched outlaw:

> Rich people in apartments
> Watched through binoculars
> As long as the daylight lasted.

Knowing the external facts are reliable, one assumes that the poet does not misrepresent her response to them. One assumes the dreams, like the map, are her own, and that she takes the dreams to be not private phenomena but examples of the nearness of fantasy to truth. On these principles depend the quiet, sympathetic comedy of many poems. In "Sunday, 4 A.M." the poet wakes up to find the cat jumping to the window with a moth in his mouth; and she writes,

> Dream dream confronting,
> now the cupboard's bare.
> The cat's gone a-hunting.
> The brook feels for the star.
> The world seldom changes,
> but the wet foot dangles
> until a bird arranges
> two notes at right angles.

The comedy depends on our being rescued from the mystery by our trust in the all-too-human creator. We have no way of verifying the brook's existence other than the poet's word. Yet if we did not believe in it, the humour of the line would be false. One is not charmed by a non-existent stream concocted for the sake of a detached conceit. Somewhere in Nova Scotia is a brook that rustles through the night like a man looking for the stairs in the dark. Near it is a poet wondering whether it belongs to dream or reality; and she listens with what Miss Bishop calls "a self-forgetful, perfectly useless concentration", or with her foot metaphorically dangling in its water. We believe in the poet and rejoice to feel assured that she who sees so much and listens so hard shares our uncertainty. And with that assurance we can safely enjoy not only the poem but the mysterious uncertainty itself.

James Merrill's *The Fire Screen* we owe to the excellent judgment of the same publishers who produced *The Complete Poems* of Miss Bishop. For reasons not disclosed they have repeated the misdemeanour of which they were accused a few years ago, and have omitted a large f this case nearly a third of s can edition while keeping cul title. Was it Mr. M originally asked that a l be withheld from Englis Was it he who wished t no sign of the omission?

Critics have made too Mr. Merrill's serious good writer is "serious" rill gives ample evidenc tional depth and of an ins conscience poking through able frivolity. Privately undergone more than hi of anguish, and he uses hi dents as a point of dep many poems. But their rarely pathetic. Mr. Mer lies in his ability to fit a and complicated human ship into the form of a l unalogy developed throu play, elegant conceits, s self-ridicule. It is his ve and his ease that disg pathos. Anyone who u understands these beauti poems will not be sorry to the element of pathos fo intellectual brilliance and power.

Alan Dugan's *Collected* should have been cut dow the spontaneous overflo powerful emotions is an ex spectacle, less than a son poems in this large c approach the level of his w "Love Song: I and Tho Dugan's characteristic form tended conceit presented in nursery-rhyme pattern, and seven days of the week ("Ou Day Diary") or the parts o ("A Gift's Accompaniment in this he produces exuberan and variations in a tone of h pair. His rages for order h furious, funny life; and to re is to feel in touch with ou least hackneyed minds of A poetry.

Snapshots of a Daughter by Adrienne Rich, is a col miscellaneous poems writ 1954 to 1961. Only a few h ward to her recent chang direction of social protest a taneous form. In many the p to imprison herself in fo phrases, to maintain a theme deepening it. Sometimes the of the language sounds at o the force of the feelings. O Rich starts with an excellent ("At Majority"; "The After but hardly moves beyond it. theless, the title poem is ex a highly original sequence d a variety of strong tones wi dition of being female.

The Immigration Appeal Tribunal

The report of the tribunal on Rudi Dutschke
Is not vindictive and contains no unconsidered slanders.
There are sentences in it which indicate respect.
Even where it distorts the truth this is by no means the wanton fabrication
Of malicious fantasy or pathological lying.
No, mostly it is a matter of the odd shift of emphasis
Or some small omission, compensated (as it were)
A few lines above or below
By the inclusion of some general comment of the tribunal's own
Which throws a real light on the case, even though a wrong one.
Nor is the victim of the whole business ever
Insulted, or his name thoughtlessly blackened, while the underhand
Imputations made against Dutschke—
Sparked off by the Home Secretary's reference to
The risk to national security—
By press and television
Are refuted by the tribunal or
Treated as not worth mention. In conclusion it could be said:

The injustice which this report does Dutschke is only
The barest subsistence level of injustice
(Witting or unwitting), below which injustice
Would face greater risks than many people think justifiable.
Not the end of British democracy, then,
Merely one small step towards that end
And a thankless task anyhow
Since from injustice's point of view this report is nearly as embarrassing
And unsatisfactory as from that of justice itself.

ERICH FRIED

Petronius Pirandelloed

EDOARDO SANGUINETI:
Il gioco del Satyricon
207pp. Turin: Einaudi. L. 1,600.

In an article on Fellini's film of the *Satyricon* which appeared in the *New York Review of Books* a year ago, Alberto Moravia "described Petronius's novel as an "open" work, that is to say a work which reflects an "open" world, "bereft of rigorous social structures, respected moral conventions, reigning intellectual patterns", but rich in novelties, absurdities, surprises, with an important role played by the unexpected both in political and fictional life. Like so many universal formulas in the ever-expanding field of the sociology of literature, this definition is not without appeal in so far as it seems to suggest a perfect homology between fiction and reality, which is the unconfessed dream of many a literary critic. Unfortunately not all the examples that come to mind confirm the original intuition: what about *Tristram Shandy*, for instance? This is certainly a supremely "open" work, but it does not originate from the kind of social and cultural milieu described in Moravia's too well ordered parallelism.

In the text that has survived the *Satyricon* appears as a perfect example of an "open" work, *disponible* to all sorts of exploitations and misuses, Protean in all its numerous metamorphoses, submitting vicariously to all possible interpretations, yet never losing its original charm. Petronius, or rather the imaginary author of the fragmented text that we read nowadays, has found a kindred spirit in Edoardo Sanguineti, who is not always the most faithful but often the most brilliant interpreter of ancient masterpieces (*vide* his highly personal *Furioso*, where the playwright generously spreads a whole phantasmagoria of avant-garde tricks over this hitherto well-preserved and over-dignified literary monument). In the case of the *Satyricon*, the innate infidelity of the interpreter (a clear sign of the power of his own personality) operates to the advantage of the work, which gloriously survives Sanguineti's iconoclastic treatment. The Roman *Odyssey* emerges as a kind of illiterate epic, in which inarticulate characters vainly pursue the meaning of their own disconnected actions, meandering through the plot like dogs through life in search Pirandellian identity with both author and interpreter endow them.

Far from concealing the ble fractures in the text that preserved, Sanguineti dir attention to them, emphas gaps and using them as literary devices, exploiting terruptions in the chro sequence as a sort of discontinuity". The *Satyr* comes "un gioco", a game reader is invited to particip if he is not being told the advance. For Sanguineti c cheats the reader, opening tative avenues which lead or forcing a confrontation continuously exacerbates trast between the purity of and the intentional impurity Italian (the *sermo impurus* guineti's early work). Part pleasure of reading *Il giovane* from our awareness that being duped: because a passive participation which quired from us, but an volvement in a game inevitably terminate in

Men-watchers

GIO MORAVIA:
Scienza dell'uomo nel Settecento
Pp. Bari: Laterza. L.5,000.

deceptive case, Sergio Moravia produced another excellent work thesis on the period at the end e eighteenth century (his fourth incidentally, at the ripe age of). The title is misleading, the curiously so as the author w clear in the preface that this ecisely what the book is not. It he says, with the intention to h some of the writings by mem- of the Société des Observateurs 'Homme, an ephemeral group ed in 1799. But as he went on ound it necessary to document activities, explain their signifi- , and place them in the context eighteenth-century studies in ce related to anthropology and logy.

e result is a fascinating account riters hitherto obscure, almost wn, or at best insufficiently us for their achievements. An dix contains some of their key (translated, unfortunately, Italian, which will appreciably their audience). There is Jauf the founder, outlining the aims the Society, and contributing le studies on the ethno-cultural icance of writing and the semio- l import of various primitive ms; Volney (a writer who has ly attained minor eminence but n Moravia sees as more impor- yet) investigating the American ans at close quarters, and record- a fascinating discussion with one their sachems; Péron, who was ly the only anthropologist to on Baudin's round-the-world dition and who wrote a long unt of the trip and his observa- ; Degérando, compiler of a al for first-hand ethnological ies; and others besides.

e of the most interesting sections oted to the sad case of Victor, ant sauvage de l'Aveyron", a of apparently eleven or twelve of age discovered in 1798 in a of nature; Itard, a young or at the Institut pour les ds et Muets, devoted long years his life in trying to educate and ize him. Victor attracted the tion of many scientists of the ast as he has recently attracted attention of the film-maker, ois Truffaut. Was he a congeni- ot, or basically an ordinary reduced to idiocy by being cut from society in his early years? question remained open, since 's progress, after all the efforts ed upon him by Itard, remained ly limited. Here Moravia is ed to feel that the Société des Observateurs, in concluding (contrary to Itard's view) that Victor was an idiot, were mistaken; but what is especially significant is not so much the outcome as the great anthropological interest aroused by such a child.

Along with much that is impressive there appear weaknesses, some of them the same as ones that had characterized the earlier *Il tramonto dell' Illuminismo* treviewed here on January 29, 1970. The author wishes to stress the great strides forward taken by these scholars because of their regard for "le fait positif". Degérando's attitude holds good for them all: "l'indagine scientifica implica i tre momenti dell'*observer*, dell'*analyser* e del *comparer*". This meant a penchant for quantitative measurement, for the ethnographical "regard", for comparative analysis of cultures primitive and sophisticated, past and present. All this is not new, and in attempting to delineate their originality the author sometimes underplays the importance of the Enlightenment in this respect. He quotes from Cabanis and Jauffret passages of which Diderot could well have been capable. He gives undue emphasis to the prevalence of body-soul dualism amongst the *philosophes*, ignoring that they wage war on the concept of soul from early in the century. Above all, he is unfair in seeing them as "totalizers" seeking to impose an abstract concept of human unity. It would be better to adhere consistently to the view he sometimes expresses, that the *Idéologues* continue the work of the *philosophes* rather than contradict it.

This may be seen as a minor, if objective, defect of emphasis. Larger if more diffuse, and likely to vitiate future studies if not corrected, is a somewhat narrow behaviourist approach. Inductive experimentation is of immense importance in the growth of the human sciences, as the author rightly points out. He might however have given more subtlety to his picture if he had remembered the importance of intuition and hypothesis in the scientific process. He is right to castigate some of Buffon's more theoretically "humanist" descriptions; but he would be more stimulating if he realized the part of imagination, especially at the highest level at which, for instance, a Darwin operates. Perhaps this limitation will be corrected when Moravia comes to write his promised work on anthropology from Descartes to Stendhal. For the meantime, we must be grateful for the proper recognition he is giving to those unjustly neglected writers who broke through old disciplines to set "la scienza dell'uomo" on its feet.

Projections into the past

HARRY LEVIN:
The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance
231pp. Faber and Faber. £2 10s.

Many cultures have a vision of some ideal state of things, whether this ideal is set in the past or the future, is expressed in religious terms or in secular ones, is called Valhalla or Nirvana, Paradise or the Classless Society. In Western civilization, one of the dominant forms of such a vision has been that of the Golden Age. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, for example, there is a description of an age when the weather was eternal spring, when the streams ran milk and wine, and the earth was fertile even when untouched by spade or plough. There were no wars, no laws, and no fear of punishment. Men were co-operative rather than competitive.

This fantasy was, of course, no invention of Ovid's, but an example of a literary "commonplace" or "topos". The history of a number of such topoi was written by E. R. Curtius in his famous work on *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, but although he dealt with the "ideal landscape" or *locus amoenus*, Curtius did not go on to consider any ideal ages. Ovid's picture of the golden age is an example of Roman primitivism. The history of primitivism, neatly defined as "the discontent of the civilized with civilization", was written by Arthur Lovejoy and George Boas, but they stopped before they reached the Renaissance.

Harry Levin has had the happy idea of filling the gap left by Curtius, Lovejoy and Boas, of occupying what he calls the "middle ground between literary criticism and the history of ideas" and writing on the myth of the golden age in the Renaissance. He has written on the Renaissance before (on Marlowe, for example, and on Cervantes) and he has always been interested in approaching literature as myth, defined as "a collective fantasy embodying ideals and memories". In this book he surveys the images of a golden age expressed in English, French, Spanish and Italian literature of the Renaissance, including pastoral romances like the *Arcadias* of Sidney and Sannazzaro, pastoral dramas like Tasso's *Aminta* and Guarini's *Pastor Fido*. He does not confine himself to pastoral but looks at work as different as *Don Quixote*, *The Tempest*, Bodin's *Methodus*, Montaigne's essay on cannibals, and Raleigh's *History of the World*.

As Professor Levin remarks, the myth of the golden age displayed "a fascinating capacity for adapting itself to changed viewpoints and new situations". It can be all things to all men, and in particular, "all that the contemporary age is not". This is partly because the myth is a cluster of traits only some of which need be present in any particular example. The pessimist remembers that there was once a golden age; the optimist knows that it will return. The hedonist describes the golden age as a time of idleness and pleasure; Tasso describes his permissive Arcadia as a place where whatever is pleasing is allowed ("S'ei piace, ei lice"). This is what Lovejoy and Boas call "soft primitivism". But there is also "hard primitivism", the idea that the golden age was a time of virtuous discomfort, when men worked hard and fought bravely. This kind of primitivism receives, perhaps, too little emphasis in Levin's account. It is expressed, for example, in a verse-letter written by Quevedo to Olivares lamenting the luxury of Spain in their day.

A spectacular example of the adaptation of the myth to sixteenth-century realities is furnished by the discovery of America. The fact that America had been added to the Spanish Empire was used to argue that Charles V was destined to become emperor of the world, and the world-empire was associated with the return of the golden age. But it was also suggested by Peter Martyr of Anghiera, followed by many sixteenth-century travel writers, that the American Indians themselves lived in the golden age, without laws. The existence of the myth may have encouraged some Europeans not to despise peoples who lacked the "blessings" of civilization.

The myth of the golden age was also suited to the paying of courtly compliments. One way of saying, or hoping, that a particular ruler was able and virtuous and that his reign would be prosperous was to say that the golden age would return under his rule. It is difficult to decide how literally, how seriously this topos was taken. Presumably Ronsard did not believe that the French streams would flow with wine under the rule of Charles IX, but the yearning for an age of peace which his poems express was a natural response to an age of civil war. It is also easier to imagine his remarks about the golden age as seriously meant if one juxtaposes them (as Professor Levin does not) to the *Livre Merveilleux* published in Lyon in 1565, a translation of some fourteenth-century prophecies about a King of France named Charles who is destined to conquer the world and inaugurate a period of universal peace. In England, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, more emphasis was naturally placed on the idea that it was the return of the just virgin Astraea which would inaugurate the golden age. Myth was like prophecy in that men anxiously scrutinized reality for correspondences to it.

The golden age topos had social as well as political overtones, but here again the same myth carried contradictory messages. Guarini's Arcadia is a place where differences of rank exist—the plot turns on the love of "the most noble nymph" Amarillis for the shepherd Mirtillo, who seems to be of humble origin but turns out to be noble just in time for a happy ending. This version of the myth legitimates the social structure of sixteenth-century Italy by projecting it into the past. But the topos also included the idea that in the golden age, "mine and thine were unknown" and property was held in common, an idea which encouraged social criticism. It is a pity that Professor Levin does not place much emphasis on this aspect of the myth, which was taken seriously enough for men to try to put it into practice at Tabor in the early fifteenth century and at Münster in 1535.

Fluid as it was, there were some viewpoints and some situations to which the myth of the golden age was unable to adapt. It did not flourish in the Middle Ages or in the Enlightenment as it did in the Renaissance. In the Middle Ages, an otherworldly competitor, the myth of Paradise, displaced it. In the eighteenth century, belief in progress worked against it. As Saint-Simon was to say: "The golden age of mankind is not behind us; it is ahead."

Professor Levin summarizes skilfully, quotes aptly, and writes an elegant prose thick with allusions which enrich if they sometimes obscure his argument. He is well-read in a number of European languages, including Dutch and Norwegian. Unfortunately, he has not moved as far towards the history of ideas as the preface promises. He has chosen to be descriptive rather than analytic, to comment in passing but not to stand back from his material and draw conclusions. One misses the sharpness and the rigour of Lovejoy and Boas. The book is always agreeable, sometimes perceptive, but finally somewhat disappointing.

The twenty-first edition of *The World of Learning, 1970-71* (1,868pp. Europa. £10 10s.) is, as usual, larger than ever. Not only has it been brought up to date, but the entries for nine countries have been expanded, and there are also new entries for three other countries. What would add even more to the value of this very valuable reference book would be an index of names.

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THE TIMES

T·L·S

70th Year 22 January 1971 No. 3,595

Commentary

It is perhaps not generally realized that when the Labour Government reduced the old fifty-year rule for the opening of government records to a thirty-year rule, one significant class of records was excluded and is still subject to an embargo of up to a century. This class consists of all Home Office papers since 1878, and also of those papers of government departments, including the Home Office, the "premature disclosure" of which, in the official phrase, "might cause distress or embarrassment to living persons or their descendants or entail a breach of confidence or security", and which are closed by the Lord Chancellor for a hundred years under a clause in the Public Records Act of 1958.

Such a ban is obviously capable of covering a very wide field of material, but in practice the significant records are mainly those relating to informers, police spies, and agents provocateurs. At first sight they may not seem very significant, but as it happens the exclusion of the activities of these people from outside inspection means that there are serious gaps in our knowledge of such episodes of late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century history as the rise of trade unions, the Irish Home Rule movement, the socialist revival, foreign refugees in this country, anarchist bomb plots, the suffragette movement, the syndicalist movement, the anti-conscription movement in the First World War, the unemployed movement after it, the General Strike, the rise of the Communist and Fascist parties, and so on. This is of course only one aspect of recent history, and the problem of these records is only one aspect of the much wider problem of the accessibility of archives, both public and private; but it is worth considering in some detail.

Several professional historians have been disturbed about the situation for some time, and successive issues of the *Bulletin* of the Society for the Study of Labour History, which has an obvious interest in this area, have recorded the protests of some of its distinguished members and such items as the correspondence exchanged by Mr. Raymond Postgate with the Lord Chancellor (then Lord Gardiner) and the parliamentary questions addressed by Mr. Stan Newens to the Home Secretary (then Mr. James Callaghan).

The official position is that records are released on the advice of an Advisory Council on Public Records (whose members include some prominent historians); that the release of information given in confidence would damage living people (including relatives of the individuals involved), while the release of information bearing on security would damage the interests of the state; and that there is "no question" of changing the present situation. There is some suspicion on the other side that a further but unacknowledged point in this position is a reluctance to release records which are politically or administratively inconvenient, and there is a determination that the issue should at least be properly discussed in public.

The main argument against the official position is that, while no government can be expected to reveal the nature of its surveillance of what it considers to be subversive organizations at home or abroad, or to betray the identity of individuals involved in such surveillance, there is surely no valid reason for carrying this principle back for a whole century when the information in question cannot conceivably have a direct effect either on current policy or on living people. This argument may seem obvious, but in view of official immobility it seems necessary to spell out some of the implications.

It is now generally known that the disclosure of official records revealing the extent of government penetration of the radical groups and the Chartist movement in the early nineteenth century has been essential in the work of establishing the true history of these episodes. There is no reason to believe that such disclosures have damaged anyone or anything, except perhaps the liberal image of British history. There is a great deal of partial or circumstantial evidence relating to similar activity in later years, ranging from the pamphlets of indignant activists to the memoirs of former agents themselves; but any damage that might have been caused by such material would presumably be reduced rather than increased by the establishment of the truth on the basis of the official records.

As is well known, the law of libel does not cover the dead, and it seems odd that a writer may tell lies about police agents of the past but not the facts about them, and that the authorities should wish to shield these humbler servants of the state when their political masters are exposed to public view without hesitation. Why should operations of this particular kind be protected for so long when other often equally contentious activities are now revealed within a third of the time? It was, after all, only a few weeks ago that we were able to read freely the occasionally horrific proceedings of the War Cabinet of 1940.

Then, while there is no compelling reason why we should follow the practice of other countries, it is at least worth noting that the rules applied in the United States are much more flexible, and that—to take a single instance—the histories of the early years of the Communist Parties of France, Germany and Italy make extensive use of police records.

It may perhaps be objected that this kind of material is not really such an important source of information. In fact it is becoming increasingly important; contemporary historiography is moving more and more in the direction of social investigation and the use of archive material, and in political matters it is indeed precisely this kind of material which can be crucially relevant. Witness the case—to take a single instance again—of the capture by the Germans and then by the Americans of the archives of Smolensk, covering the period from 1917 to 1938, which made possible a unique re-evaluation of all previous work on the nature of Soviet society. And this kind of confidential material is also currently expanding in volume, as administration becomes increasingly bureaucratic, so that even if it is not all that important yet it will become increasingly important as the years go by.

As often happens in such cases, it has been delicately hinted that the Home Office may be able to "accommodate" historians who are regarded as "reputable"; but, as Mr. Postgate quickly pointed out, "it is precisely those who are not 'reputable' who can make best use of these concealed documents" (he is himself, of course, an apt example of a thoroughly reputable historian who was once considered very disreputable indeed). Who, one wonders, would calculate the reputation of applicants for this undesirable accommodation? And who would consider appeals against rejection of applications? Recent experience is not encouraging.

A further complication is that no list of these documents is available; this follows the strange principle also found in the British Museum Reading Room, where readers allowed to apply for books held in the Private Case are not allowed to see the catalogue of its contents, and it would effectively destroy the value of the proposed concession, even if this were acceptable. Thus the category H.O.144 is simply described in the official *Guide to the Contents of the Public Records Office* as containing 18,845 items covering the period 1872-1933; Mr. Callaghan specifically refused to give Mr. Newens any more information about it. He also refused to say how many people had applied to use the banned records during a five-year period, and how many of these had been allowed to do so, which seems to be carrying the principle of confidentiality to ridiculous lengths.

It really does seem time that the authorities came out into the open and explained the official position, telling us exactly what records are being concealed, for what periods, and for what specific reasons. Naturally certain restrictions will continue to be applied to prevent damage to individuals or the state, but the general rule should surely be that the interests of the truth are overriding except when there is definite evidence of the likelihood of such damage. There is at present little common ground between the two sides, but it should be possible to come to a more rational arrangement which would go some way to satisfying them both.

* * *

Campaigners in favour of a Public Lending Right cannot let their propaganda falter now that the Minister for the Arts is thinking about libraries. The British Library having been safely formulated as a White Paper, is there some hope that the Department of Education and Science might now agree to the most recent modifications proposed for the P.L.R. scheme, and that Lord Eccles will offer government support to a Bill? By a fortunate accident, the P.L.R. lobby has this week brought out a book of partisan essays, published jointly by André Deutsch and Penguin: *Public Lending Right: A Matter of Justice* (112pp. 30s.). Decently, most of the contributors have forgone their money and any profits the book makes will be given to literary charity.

It is not, unfortunately, a very good or telling book, except in those parts that are informative rather than polemical. In the first place, there is frequent confusion between two distinct concepts in the argument for P.L.R.: justice and gain. If P.L.R. is enacted, justice may be done but there will not be very much cash in it for the majority of authors; the one contributor to bring this out is the novelist John Fowles, who talks about even trivial sums being a "start", without indicating how anyone is ever going to improve very much on this start. Another novelist, Angus Wilson, sees heart-warming pictures of writers being released from the hack-work of writing books out of other books in order to settle their electricity bills, almost as if P.L.R. was meant as a *disincentive*; since, under P.L.R., hack-work will earn its extra reward just like any other sort of writing, the hacks may grub away all the harder.

The most valuable ... history of the P.L.R. ... Victor Bonham-Carter, ... of how the Perform... Society operates to prot... ers, Richard Findlater's ... "The Wages of Writing" ... lished in the *TLS* in ... details of P.L.R. in Scand... necessarily, an append... of the scheme agreed by ... Council's Working Party ... mitted to the D.E.S. In ... shown that authors can ... royalty of 1½ per cent on ... that the library pays for ... while the publisher will ... cent; this supposing that ... ment sets aside a minimum ... a year to finance the scheme.

It is a pity that the *Public Lending Right* ... assembled to less argu... ends. There are no new ... need or even can be adv... support of it and little ... old ones to be reissued, but ... and mathematics have ... publicized. As it is, it is ha... who will be hurrying to ... present publication, unless ... public libraries.

* * *

One exhortation sometime... into indigent authors, toiling ... vive from books alone, is t... should turn the whole thing ... do a decent day's work inste... us, such a retreat from th... looms, for the writing man or ... as no more than a last and ... resort; with others, it may ... an obligation. Last spring ... for instance, fingers flabby ... years of idling at a typewri... board were made to swap ... machete and to join in the ... Zafra, or Great Sugar-Pick... signed to outpick all previo... vests and establish the ... economy once and for all.

Once the canes had been ... refined (and, one hopes, expor... sabotage the arteries of pro... imperialists somewhere or oth... next crop to be anticipated ... Cuba's Cultural Revolution w... course the books written ... writers seconded to the plan... As a foretaste of this by-pro... the Gran Zafra, which may ... turn out to contain more ... than sugar, the *Gaceta de Cu...* interesting monthly paper ... Cuban Writers' and Artists' ... (17 y H, Vedado, La Habana ... lished, in its July, 1970, number ... just with us, what with the ... postal links between this count... Cuba), extracts from work ... gress.

These begin, a trifle ambigu... might be thought, with a ... account of the death of a cane... mangled trying to save a ... locomotive. But by the next ... things are going better and ... become, in the words of the ... Félix Contreras, "omnipoten... primordial".

1899

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One of Heath Robinson's full-page drawings to Poe's poems.

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Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe Volume 1: Poems
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FLOYD STOVALL:
Edgar Poe The Poet
273pp. University Press of Virginia. (T.A.B.S.) £4.

THE "indescribable magnetism" that twenty-five years after Poe's death his compatriot Walt ...itman still felt in his life and writ...s remains as true an indicator as ... of his singular achievement. Poe ...always seemed less a standard ...er with a clear performative ...ity than a kind of independent ... of force. The energy and attrac... flowing from his work have not ...ly lent themselves to ordinary ...al description; certain compre...ive projects of critical scholar... like F. O. Matthiessen's ...*rican Renaissance* and Herbert ...'s *The True Voice of Feeling* ... rather conspicuously avoided ... He was in fact a literary worker ...often embarrassing carelessness ... triviality who rarely broke free ...m Grub Street harassments, yet ...whom it may be said that no poet ...he English language after Shake...re has had so great a practical ...ence on world literature.

...s standing elsewhere in the ...d is by way of being the King ...les's head of Anglo-American ...larship on Poe. Baudelaire's ex... response to certain tales and ... might be dismissed as an ...ent of timing and translation ...gh indubitably an important ... if it had not been repeated in ... ways and at widely separated ...vals by Mallarmé and Valéry, ...oevsky and Konstantin Balmont, ... and Rubén Darío, Neruda and ...on Bachelard; the list could be ... extended. Through the nine...h century it was the imaginative ... of Poe's writing that chiefly held ...tion, above all his peculiar ...ification of the Gothic bag of ... for representing consciousness ...*tremis*. An era discovering neu... as a fixed condition of human ...viour was bound to admire the ...r who in stories like "The ... Cat" had established motive-...erversity as a clinical reality in ...l life.

...an album of taste like the ...ourts' journal, "Poe" thus fig...s not only a recognized source ...ntemporary inspiration but the ... for an entire landscape of ...nstance and apprehension. We ..." un pays de Poe", "l'ombre ...o", "une *vision* à la Poe"; ...que women are reported in ...s and along the boulevards; ...*ous bizarre* occasions are identi... first of all as subjects for a Poe; ...he project of "une série de ... fantastico-scientifico-phono...ires" the influence of ... is taken for granted. (On ...round there is less differ... between his European and ...-American reputations, as can ...en in the reissue of a 1900 ...g of his poems with Heath ...son illustrations: all dark tide...ores, eclectic temples, borders ...pical foliage, and desexed ... creatures in attitudes either ...ted or aspiring.)

... the matter of Poe's literary ...ce goes beyond his subjects ...pressive fervours, which settled ...sily into the clichés of deca... The Machiavellian solitary ...ted, and prayed to, by Baude...who pictured his clear intelli... moving "like a pillar of fire" ... the deserts of contemporary ... had invented nothing less ... new way of behaving as a ... The famous account of how ..."Raven" got composed is ... fictitious, but it needed only ...figuratively and dramatically ... to serve Baudelaire's conten...t Poe had "applied to litera... processes of philosophy, and ...sophy the methods of alge... The effects of terror and ...ness in his work were com...ce, though queerly authentic. ...was shocking was the cool ...ent with which he claimed to ...anufactured them.

...contrast with Shelley—who ... himself to say of *Adonais*, ...le as usual with a total ...ce of the effect that I should ...—would seem absolute. ...oe had engineered, however, ...ely a transfer of the romantic ...of sincerity from the poet ... to the admittedly fictitious ...e was producing and to the ...r of his performance in ...g it. The step was morally ...ous but in logic direct and ... this the great paradigms of modernism—Flaubert's priestlike devotion to perfected craftsmanship, the *symboliste* word-magicians in their alchemical towers, Joyce's removal of the artist to a godlike position behind or above his handiwork—are all substantially predictable. So, too, are Eliot's earnest doctrines of creation by "depersonalization" and Pound's description of poetry as "a sort of inspired mathematics" delivering exact equations for human feeling. But with these nearest American successors in the high modernist line a certain irony emerges. For to Eliot and Pound, *c.* 1910-20, Poe (whose poems had no doubt hypnotized them in childhood) remained the same exquisitely provincial embarrassment he had seemed to Henry James forty years earlier; they would look almost anywhere else to validate their principles.

Poe's American reputation had in fact never quite escaped the notoriety that engulfed it in his lifetime. The middle-class newspaper-and-magazine bohemia springing up in Philadelphia and New York around 1830 was the overheated milieu in which he did his work—a literary milieu that learnt quickly enough the sales tricks of slander and derogation, particularly with a competitor of genius who persisted in trying to teach it critical manners. How Poe struck his contemporaries is indicated in this by no means unfriendly account filed from New York in 1846 by his fellow southerner Simms, and reproduced in Sidney P. Moss's documentary record of Poe's libel suit against the New York *Mirror*:

> Of Poe, as a writer, we know something. He is undoubtedly a man of very peculiar and very considerable genius—but is irregular and exceedingly mercurial in his temperament. He is fond of mystifying in his stories, and they tell me, practises upon this plan even in his sketches; more solicitous, as they assert, of a striking picture than a likeness. Poe, himself, is a very good looking fellow. I have seen him on two or three occasions, and have enjoyed a good opportunity of examining him carefully. He is probably thirty three or four years old, some five feet eight inches in height, of rather slender person, with a good eye, and a broad intelligent forehead. He is a man, clearly, of sudden and uneven impulses, of great nervous susceptibility, and one whose chief misfortune it is not to have been caught young and trained carefully. The efforts of his mind seem wholly spasmodic. He lacks habitual industry, I take it, which, in the case of the library [sic] man who must look to his daily wits for his daily bread, is something of a deficiency. He, also, is in obscurity, somewhere in the country, and sick, according to a report which reached me yesterday, of brain fever.

Poe won his suit, which developed from the hue and cry over his devastatingly efficient series on the established New York "literati", but the affair hardly improved his fortunes. Its viciousness on both sides—Poe could not resist outdoing his enemies in vituperative courseness as in everything else and squandered his initial moral advantage effectively ruined his career. The legend of the man of superior gifts hounded to an early grave by democratic mediocrity and venality is not wholly fanciful. Poe had his friends in New York, besides enemies bent on revenge, but about the best help he could get was an editorial proposal by the right-thinking N. P. Willis for a "Hospital for Disabled Labourers With the Brain" where a man of Poe's specified disabilities might find refuge. Nothing about this proposal was likely to overwhelm Poe with gratitude; he thanked Willis rather stiffly and proceeded to deny most of the specifications.

This provincial cockpit of journalistic career-making is the focus of several recent academic studies of Poe. The least valuable of these is *Poe and the British Magazine Tradition*, which comes with jacket puffs by senior American scholars. Beneath a good deal of methodological huffing and puffing Michael Allen has a simple case to make. Poe, who took pride in the title of "magazinist", was an alert reader of the newer British literary periodicals of the type of *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's* and borrowed their tactics—in particular the flashy pseudo-erudition and the promotion of outsize journalistic personalities—as a way of reaching a mass audience without abandoning traditional standards. But in translating these tactics to America ("a new society which was feeling the need to develop its own journalistic modes") he demonstrated "a defective sense of reality". American society was not elitist and hierarchical but democratic and egalitarian-sentimental. It had made the historic leap from an aristocratic "minority-culture" to the state of "mass-civilization"; consequently a writer who imitated the Regency manner of Bulwer or the Scotch perkiness of "Christopher North" (tactics oddly identified as "European") was doomed to failure.

The argument is clever but will not, as stated, stand inspection. Neither in the 1830s nor at any other time can the unit, "American society", be equated with the public for polite literature. The era of Presidents Jackson and Polk was indeed aggressively democratic in politics and business; belletristic attitudes, however, remained gentlemanly and snobbish ("Whig", in the American sense). *Blackwood's* itself continued to sell briskly. Moreover, several of Poe's contemporaries, the *Knickerbocker* and *Mirror* writers in particular, prospered in the use of the same formulas: the cut-and-slash review, the sensational tale, the learned hoax, the editorial self-promoting. But the practice and the degree of success among other American "magazinists" of the time are hardly mentioned in Dr. Allen's account. Also, the survey of Poe's own work and contemporary responses to it is cursory and partial, and previous scholarship is scanted; there is one reference in passing to Professor Moss's earlier book on Poe's critical wars (1963), none at all to Perry Miller's *The Raven and the Whale*

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FABER & FABER

(1956). The kind of major reassessment of Poe's public career that is proposed here is not likely to be accomplished by so limited a canvass of the pertinent materials.

Robert D. Jacobs's study, *Poe: Journalist and Critic*, presents a more useful explanatory model. Each chapter turns on the analysis of one or another review of special importance and seeks to define the regulating principle it exemplifies or else openly advocates. The attention given to certain relatively unfamiliar pieces is genuinely rewarding. Poe's comments on novels—books by Cooper, Simms, Bulwer and Dickens, among others—show an open-mindedness, a freedom from prescriptive dogma, that may surprise readers who have in mind only the stricter theorizing he applied to the tale and lyric, the forms he himself mainly practised.

One might wish nevertheless for a shorter book and a less repetitive and *busy* argument. Professor Jacobs's mode of presentation tends to obscure, one may feel, the real singularity of Poe's literary character. Two main premises appear to guide his treatment; both are radically open to question. One is that Poe worked systematically from start to finish towards a fully articulated theory of literature. The second is that a critic has importance in literary history as he consciously pursues this great task. But the argument is too prompt and too unvarying in assuming the presence of organized theory where the sentences in question may represent only brilliant ad hoc improvisation. It is one thing to note Poe's habit of "Blair-ing it" in his reviews (and there is no question of his common use of the vocabulary of Edinburgh aesthetics or of his relish for playing lawgiver), but it is another to see every such appeal to rhetorical rules and niceties as part of a philosophically systematic effort of his own.

The most instructive of these studies is Burton R. Pollin's miscellany of investigations into some of the obscurer borrowings and transmutations Poe packed into his tales and poems. Nearly every chapter lays bare some complicated network of allusion, disguised quotation, and secondhand erudition. In combining relentless detective work with old-fashioned bookman's enthusiasm, *Discoveries in Poe* is pleasantly remote from current academic fashions. Some of the adduced chains of evidence are distinctly problematical; Professor Pollin's manner is to fill up each argument with every piece of information discovered in pursuing it, whether or not it provably fits.

Yet the mass of contingent detail that results is richly suggestive of the actualities of Poe's working life. It makes a kind of inventory of everything he might have cannibalized in maintaining the flow of *concetti* that carry forward the work in hand, and as such it conveys a truth about the making of literature which analytic criticism too much neglects. In surrounding himself with contemporary magazines, other people's books, encyclopedias and dictionaries and popular compendia like Isaac D'Israeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, Poe did what most writers do. The exceptional thing is not his heavy reliance on impromptu borrowings and sleight-of-hand plagiarisms but the degree of originality in what came of it.

Professor Pollin and Professor Jacobs both acknowledge the assistance given them by the late Thomas Ollive Mabbott, the doyen (to say the least) of Poe scholarship, who from the 1920s to his death in 1968 filed scores of separate Poe items, mostly bibliographical, in the scholarly press. Unquestionably the most important new event in Poe scholarship is Professor Mabbott's full-dress edition of the poems; it is the first volume in the Harvard University Press's advancing project of a collected edition (the first since James A. Harrison's admirable *Complete Works* of 1902). It is further gratifying to see the jacket announcement that Professor Mabbott before his death had also completed his editing of the tales and imaginative sketches, which will comprise the second and third volumes.

On the question of Poe's greatness these forthcoming volumes will have more to say. Professor Mabbott himself declares that "Poe's tales are his chief contribution to the literature of the world". His thirst for fame primarily as a poet has long seemed a mistaking of his true gift. The poems themselves mostly support Eliot's jibe that nobody in subsequent Anglo-American poetry was usefully influenced by them except Edward Lear; support also Aldous Huxley's demonstration of how Poe would have given his own rhythmic swirl to the beautiful Ceres-Proserpine lines in *Paradise Lost* ("It was noon in the fair field of Enna/When Proserpina, gathering flowers—/Herself the most fragrant of flowers—", &c.)

All the same, a fresh look at the texts Professor Mabbott has chosen is not at all without poetic rewards. Poe shared with others in the muddled interval between the Shelley-Byron epoch and the full onset of Victorianism the ideal of a pure mode of verse that would approach the condition of music. This ideal led to some of his most pianola-like effects, but combined with a steadying theme it also disciplined him now and then to the achievement of a song-like purity of statement along the verse line. Professor Mabbott himself was said to be an exquisitely skilful reader in public of certain poems one would have supposed impossible to resurrect except in parody, like "Ulalume" and the plangent "To Helen". The latter is in fact an extraordinary piece of work if looked at with an unprejudiced eye or listened to in a fresh, unautomatic recitation. A recent article in the *Journal of American Studies* has proposed the mode of *collage* or *pastiche* in modern English-language poetry as less "modernist" than "American", tracing it back from Ed Dorn and Charles Olson through Williams and Eliot to Whitman—but "pastiche" is precisely how Baudelaire characterized the novel "American tendency" that he spotted in particular in "To Helen".



Another illustration by Heath Robinson.

In his preface Professor Mabbott states four editorial principles: "To present what an author wrote, to explain why he wrote it, to tell what he meant when he wrote it (if that be in any way obscure), and to give a history of its publication." The first and last of these have been observed with expectable distinction. The enumeration of successive texts and variants improves and vastly extends the pioneering work of the Harrison edition, and the choice of authoritative versions or, with the many poems radically recast over a ten or fifteen-year period, of an early and a final version is not likely to be much quarrelled with.

The second principle, however—"to explain why he wrote it"—gets the editor involved in suppositions that a scholar coming of age later than 1920 might approach more hesitantly. Professor Mabbott's tone is personal and idiosyncratic throughout, and his judgments on the matter of provenance tend towards the bluff certainty of someone unreconstructibly innocent concerning literary and most other species of human motivation. In editorial matters this counts merely as incidental entertainment. One accepts the textual information gratefully, appreciating the verve and eff... lets the gestation-myt... (When the same outlo... critical survey, howeve... essays from a span of ... composing Professor Sto... *Poe the Poet*, the chara... The critic in this case ... forgotten breed to whom ... ple, T. S. Eliot is still a ... puppy slanging his better... man's view of Poe ha... mainly that he wrote ... unstable people who do ... things and thereby sh... dangers of wilfulness and ...

That third principle, ex... planation of meanings—... ductive simplicities. Indeed ... whole range of editorial ... not strictly devoted to ... texts, readers will want ... their own marginal comme... hard to see why Professo... limited the contemporary ... of "Al Aaraaf" to *Lalla R*... wave-star-dome-music-s... pattern being transpare... leyan. The evidence that ... "The Doomed City" Poe ... morrah chiefly in mind ... supplemented by noting ... ment of Atlantidean refe... it became "The City in the ... 1845. Moreover, though th... unquestionably one of Po... the assertion that "it co... that one could wish away" ... against two or three of the... Poe ever let stand (thoug... "The viol, the violet, and ... is listed as having be... Dowson's favourite lis... poetry).

None of this is more ... eccentric overlay, however ... portant work of scholarship ... been completed, and it ... authority of having been ... first to last by the one sch... equipped to do it, rather th... self-neutralizing committ... looks forward confidently to ... sor Mabbott's edition of the ta... sketches.

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Robert Burns was born on the twenty-fifth of January, 1759, and, every year, all self respecting Scotsmen use the anniversary as the pretext for a patriotic orgy. An Englishman wanting to keep up with the Campbells and Mactavishes on Burns night has a hard task.

He must be able to locate with some precision 'The spot the ca'd it Linkumdoddie'; recite Susanna MacIver's recipe for haggis; and have a more than passing acquaintance with the Dalhousie Manuscript, the Merry Muses of Caledonia and Sir Stewart, Thriepland of Fingask. The Sassenach also has problems of comprehension. Such words as 'sonsy', 'drumlie' not to mention 'wha' and 'hae' are not readily understood by the insular English reader.

For those Englishmen who wish to confound their North British friends, the Burns Encyclopedia* is an invaluable crib. It also helps to explain some of the mysteries of Scotland's greatest poet. Though there will always be some that the poor English will never master. Pronunciation for one. Nor does a Sassenach know whether to drink the whisky or pour it on the haggis; and many Scots seem uncertain too.

Taurus

* Hutchinson 95s.

To the Editor

The British Library

Sir,—When the Government announces that it proposes to spend £36m. on the creation of the new national library of which many scholars have dreamt for a quarter of a century, one would have hoped—in *TLS* of all places—to have found more than ten scant lines of commendation attached, with the air of a perfunctory afterthought, to 2,000 words of pessimistic, even suspicious, analysis of the White Paper (January 15). Of course there are problems, formidable ones indeed in the transitional period, which must not be played down, but I hope I am not alone in finding the White Paper the most exciting and challenging development in the world of higher learning during my lifetime.

A. N. L. MUNBY.

King's College, Cambridge.

Sir,—I really cannot refrain from congratulating the writer of your front-page article (January 15) on the dexterity with which, in two paragraphs, he transforms hot potatoes into an omelette.

M. WYLIE.

Arthington Lane, Pool in Wharfedale, Otley, Yorkshire.

Solzhenitsyn

Sir,—Over the years I have edited literary reviews and been engaged in not very fruitful dialogues with spokesmen of the Soviet Writers Union. I was for a short time also a committee member of the Society for Cultural Freedom with which the monthlies *Der Monat* (Berlin), *Preuves* (Paris) and *Encounter* (London) were associated. May I therefore make a comment on a problem of monthly and quarterly literary reviews?

(1) Literary reviews are no longer able to survive without a subsidy from some source which is not earned by literature. Contributors and editors are always grateful for patronage to which no strings are attached.

(2) The worst sort of patronage for any review is one that derives from a state. By this I don't only mean the Soviet State where what has happened over *Novy Mir*, Tvardovski and Solzhenitsyn is typical. In our plural societies, it is also intolerable if official politicians, churchmen or policemen interfere with literature and ideas, however indirectly. It is better for periodicals not to exist than for editors or contributors to be tied to an ideology which doesn't coincide with their sense of the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. This problem only fails to arise if a writer's ideology coincides wholeheartedly with that of the patrons.

(3) Surely crises of conscience would be avoided if periodicals provided accounts of their editorial salaries, their subsidies and sources—published by qualified and independent firms. This would also help in the Soviet world where independent Westerners are often, in my impression, taken to be spokesmen or agents of government machines.

(4) I am wholeheartedly in agreement with you that great or good writers from the Soviet Union are often appraised in the West not only for their literary merits but for political reasons —and this by propagandists who don't normally read books. Such, in my experience, was the fate of *Dr. Zhivago*, which many of us consider the best prose-poem to come from Russia since the Revolution. The Solzhenitsyn issue has brought the same dilemma to the fore. Neither Pasternak nor Solzhenitsyn wanted to leave Russia, even though both in their turn claimed rights of personal expression which we Westerners take for granted. All of us who are involved, in however humble a way, with the written word, surely have a duty to prevent making the situation of our Russian brothers and sisters worse by conniving with non-literary power-men of any State.

BERNARD WALL.

57 Ladbroke Road, London, W.11.

Sir,—Naturally you should have your last word (January 15). But when you fail to address your comments to the substance of the letters concerned you can hardly expect it to be left at that. My point was not that Western Communist critics shared the general view, but that even Western Communist critics did so, making it, apart from the *TLS*, *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, etc., a virtual unanimity in the literary world. Nor must your commentator attribute to me his own curious mania for seeking out motives. He says I would certainly have found dubious motives for them if they had taken the other line. Not so. I am concerned with conduct, not motive, since I make no claim to your rare gift of telepsychoanalysis. When they did in fact take the pro-Soviet view of a similar matter, at the time of the Nobel award to Pasternak, I simply recorded the fact. Their motive then may have been either that they accepted, or that they wished it to be thought that they accepted, Soviet views. Their motive now may be that they accept a more civilized line, or (as you imply) that they wish it to be thought that they do. The *TLS* may know which: I don't. But I don't even know, and cannot plausibly account for, the *TLS*'s own motives.

You demand that political considerations "not be allowed to invade literary discussion at every turn". There is nothing to stop you carrying out a purely aesthetic analysis of Solzhenitsyn's work: why not do so? (I for one would be particularly interested in your treatment of the various passages in *The First Circle* where he expresses his special contempt for Western dupes of the Soviet disinformation service.) What you are in fact asking is that other people who see a certain political significance in the works should refrain from saying so; and that those who wish to refer to the political act of the suppression of these books in the Soviet Union should hold their tongues. Andropov could hardly ask for more.

You seem to suggest that I have had something to do with the smuggling out or printing of Solzhenitsyn's work. This is entirely untrue. And, of course, you see a sinister "kremlinological lobby", with myself as a prominent activist, flooding the media with propaganda about Solzhenitsyn. In fact I have scarcely written of him at all. "Kremlinology" is a light-hearted term for the study of high-level political dispute within the Soviet ruling group and is in any case totally inapplicable. And far from there being any such lobby, what the *TLS* is clearly referring to is the wide-ranging consensus of all serious students of Russia from our specialists in Soviet literature, through long-service Moscow correspondents, to workers in the political and social fields, and including, as I have said, Communists and non-Communists, Left and Right. The question of publication here without the author's ... sion is indeed a serious one. ... omitted one important con... though. Being under threat of ... ment if they agree, Soviet au... not be regarded as free agen... matter. Solzhenitsyn's own ... asked why his work appear... was that the question was, ... it did not appear at home.

If (as even you scarcely ... nerve quite to deny) Solz... work illuminates, and the ... persecution of him illum... nature of modern Russia, ... attention to this fact, how c... sibly be said that we are ... "victim"—or, in the words ... correspondent Mr. Weatherb... 15), a "football"—of him? ... contrary, if anything over ... the difficulties of his position ... own attitude—that the expr... certain opinions on the ... West makes further persecu... by the Soviet authorities ... understandable. The other... unanimous stand of Russian ... literary opinion (the Soviet ... only been able, even in Eas... to cite support from East Ge... Bulgaria—together with the ... Communists and some Swed... may yet prevent this. But if ... ensue, your own washing ... would not leave you wholly ... of the blood of this just man.

With Mr. Weatherby—of ... approve, at least do not utte... parable disapprobation—one ... once where one is, from his ... phrase "Cold War" to sig... condition of international ... the publishing of views of ... table to the Russian rulers ... is accompanied by the notio... is comparable to (worse th... as, or nearly as bad as) the So... His own *jeu d'esprit* dispro... falling down at every point ... (now Lenin, actually) Prize ... equivalent of the Nobel Pri... having been awarded to ... well looked on by the Sov... ment. It has been given ... of Westerners; they have b... accept it; and their work ... published in their own cou... Weatherby has to take a ... case—of a "novel by a ... member of the American ... Party"—since there are ... books that tell the oth... merely novels, but actual ... hostile to the establish... lished in the United ... Eldridge Cleaver, Jerry Rubin, ...oi Jones, Noam Chomsky—even ...ign enemies of capitalism and political democracy from Lenin to Guevara. ...this hypothetical novel were "brilliant" (and recognized as such by all ...country's leading writers, if we are ...eep the parallel), one may be certain it would be published. Nor, ...in case, could the refusal of a book ...y number of publishers prevent ...ating, if anyone wanted it enough, ...ailed. But above all, Solzhenitsyn ..., and could not be, a member of ...Russian Constitutional Democratic ... with an anti-Marxist viewpoint, ...ven a Menshevik, or Maoist, or ...f party member, with a variant ...ism. For any such people or ...nizations do not exist, or do not ...ve. All Mr. Weatherby's comments seem in fact to be designed to ... that, while we should doubtless ... complacency in general, we are ... entitled to feel it as against the ... political culture. (Even at the ..., the Tombs was not the Lubyanka. McCarthy was not Beria, the Hollywood blacklist was not a Yezhov death list.) Perhaps for this reason, no such figure as his "Solz" has emerged, just as no such adventures as those invented for him are actual. They will hardly serve to divert our attention from the real Solzhenitsyn.

ROBERT CONQUEST.

4 York Mansions, London, S.W.11.

Sir,—I do not want to labour the point, but you have not yet come to grips with the problem of where literature is politicized more, "there" or "here", and of who therefore bears the major responsibility for making out of Solzhenitsyn a far more political writer than he really is. A comparison of any issue of the *TLS* with any issue of the *Literaturnaya gazeta* would lead one, in my view, towards the right answer.

In a way I enjoyed W. J. Weatherby's account (January 15) of the trials and tribulations of the American writer Alex Solz. But did Mr. Solz, "even" under McCarthy, really have to put up with what Solzhenitsyn has suffered under Stalin and Brezhnev? Is there a "real" counterpart to Solzhenitsyn in America?

No sensible person, I think, would claim that the differences and difficulties between "us" and "them" arise from a struggle between pure good and pure evil, between wholly right and wholly wrong, or between the economic advantages of capitalism and of socialism. Criticism of one's own "side" does not normally mean that one has gone over to the supposed enemy, and to suggest that Solzhenitsyn has now become "one of us" (a suggestion made far more often "there" than "here" in recent times, although you persist in blurring this point) is as absurd as it is contemptible. Things are much more complicated than that, as you rightly suggest.

Now what about doing your bit and commissioning an article or two on Solzhenitsyn's works *as literature*?

MARTIN DEWHIRST.

Department of Slavonic Languages, The University, Glasgow, W.2.

¶ There have been six reviews of Solzhenitsyn's novels in the *TLS*, that of *The First Circle* having appeared on November 21, 1968.

Rudi Dutschke

Sir,—Yours are not the only columns (Commentary, January 15) to quote, with smug approval, the broad-mindedness which allowed Lenin to use the British Museum Library.

Was not the enslavement of half Europe rather a high price to pay? But of course, the bill was paid by others.

J. D. K. LLOYD.

Bron Hafren, Garthmyl, Montgomery.

Elias Canetti

Sir,—As a postcript to your highly perceptive review (January 15) of Elias Canetti's prose works, which will, one hopes, help to bring them to the attention of more readers in this, his adopted country, I would like to add some brief comments on Canetti's dramatic work, with which I have been personally occupied in the past few years.

Although best known for his other writings, especially outside the German-speaking world, Canetti has often pointed out to me that he regards his plays as the centre-point of his work; and it is, I feel, in the theatre that his visionary energy and vitality find their most powerful expression.

His first play, *Hochzeit* (The Wedding), was written shortly after *Die Blendung* in 1931-32, when the author was twenty-six, and was described by him in an interview in 1937 as "thoroughly eruptive and purposeless". It depicts, with irresistible theatrical force, a group of human monsters vying for possession of each other and of the house in which they live. So rank is their greed that even sexual contact is reduced to a material commodity, and so strong their urge to self-destruction that only an apocalypse, in the form of an earthquake which annihilates everything, can bring release. (And it is typical of Canetti that the earthquake is described from personal experience.)

The play was first performed in Braunschweig in 1965, where it provoked a riot between defenders of, among other things, "German Womanhood" on the one hand and enthusiastic supporters of its exuberance on the other. In the intervening years Canetti had given several readings of the play (after the manner of Karl Kraus, whom he greatly admires), where he would read all the parts himself, a practice he still continues from time to time. Last year the play was seen in major productions in Oslo, Stockholm, Vienna and Zürich, where it again caused consternation among the bourgeoisie. During 1968-69 I prepared, with Canetti's tireless assistance, an English version of the play, which has not yet been performed.

The only other two plays Canetti has released are *Die Komödie der Eitelkeit* (1950), a ferocious *comédie noire* on human vanity, and *Die Befristeten*, which was performed in English as *The Numbered* at the Oxford Playhouse in 1956, and which the author has called a "textbook of death".

To trace the many influences on Canetti's theatre would lead one on a circuitous route from Aristophanes to Brecht via Strindberg and Büchner. Fortunately, the plays are sufficiently individual and original not to need the bolster of comparison. As he wrote of *Hochzeit*: "It is the first, although no longer perhaps the only, dramatic work which I stand by, since it has a face of its own and is not dependent on any previous model. I particularly enjoy reading it because the writing of it, albeit after the event, revealed to me the more secret laws of the drama."

The dates of these plays should make no director fear for their impact on us today. Canetti intends his work, for every word of which he holds himself responsible, to be valid not merely for the period of its conception, but for all time. And his dramatic work, even on the evidence we so far have of it, defies obsolescence with the same vigour as it resists fashionability.

ANTHONY VIVIS.

Friars Lodge, Friars Lane, Richmond, Surrey.

'Crow'

Sir,—May I make an apologetic comment on your review of Ted Hughes's *Crow* (January 8)? The importance attached by the reviewer to *Earth-Owl and Other Moon People* may be due in part to the fact that in the prelims—not only to *Crow* but to *Lupercal*—we listed it with Ted Hughes's other adult books. This was undoubtedly a slip on our part and it has already been corrected in reprints of *Crow*. Mr. Hughes has always made it clear to us that *Earth-Owl* was written as a book for children and should be listed with his other children's books.

CHARLES MONTIETH.

Faber and Faber Ltd., 24 Russell Square, London, W.C.1.

Pound wise

Sir,—In his criticism of *The Pound in Your Pocket, 1870-1970* (January 8), your reviewer quoted a "well-known Victorian quatrain" told to him by a "Victorian Treasury man". As I have not seen Peter Wilsher's book I cannot say whether his version is accurate or not: but your reviewer's certainly differs from the one which I know. This was published in 1888 as the last chorus of *Narcissus: a Cantata in the Handelian form* by Samuel Butler and Henry Festing Jones. Their version runs thus:

How blest the prudent man, the maiden pure,
Whose income is both ample and secure,
Arising from Consolidated Three Per Cent Annuities, paid quarterly.

According to Butler and Jones, the words were written by themselves—mainly by Butler—and, since the work was never very popular, I am surprised that the quatrain should be described as "well-known". If the verse was plagiarized I should be interested to hear of the original source; if not, then it is pleasant to have another unconscious tribute to Butler's subtle influence.

BRUCE S. C. HARLING.

2 St. Catherine's Grove, Lincoln.

William Jones

Sir,—Your reviewer of Garland Cannon's edition of *The Letters of Sir William Jones* (January 1) states that Jones "was banking very large sums of money, far in excess of the salary he was receiving as a judge" of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, and accuses him of "shaking the pagoda tree". If this accusation is well founded, Jones, with the very self-conscious sense of personal honour which pervades his correspondence, would be guilty of hypocrisy of a particularly unpleasant kind.

The accusation cannot, however, be sustained on the evidence of the letters published by Mr. Cannon. In February, 1791, Jones wrote that his remittances to Britain during his judgeship amounted to £27,839. A further remittance of £3,094 is recorded, and shortly before his death in 1794 Jones wrote that he and his wife had £12,000 saved in India, £7,000 of which were his wife's savings (presumably from money settled on her by her family). Thus Jones's own savings would seem to be £36,000 over eleven years in India.

Under the letters patent establishing the court in 1774, a puisne judge's salary was £6,000 a year, giving Jones £66,000 over eleven years. Far from banking money "far in excess" of his salary, Jones had found half his income "fully adequate to all purposes of human happiness" and had saved the rest. It would be interesting to know if your reviewer had other sources of information for his allegation.

Since Mr. Cannon's own *Oriental Jones* appeared in 1964 and S. N. Mukherjee's *Sir William Jones* was published in 1968, your reviewer's comment that "there is even now no reasonably modern life of Jones" is at first sight puzzling.

P. J. MARSHALL.

Department of History, King's College, University of London, Strand, London, W.C.2.

¶ Our reviewer writes:—I do not agree that the correspondence under review fails to support the supposition that Jones had some other source of income in India, though in retrospect it may be that the phrase "shaking the pagoda tree" was unkind. The memorandum printed on page 865 of Mr. Cannon's edition shows that in the one year 1787, only four years after he was appointed, Jones remitted £17,777, or very nearly three times his annual salary. Moreover, writing to Earl Spencer in February, 1786 (Cannon, page 691), after less than three years in India, Jones says he has saved £13,000, or more than two years' salary, and refers to two remittances of £5,000, neither of which are shown in the fuller memorandum I have already referred to. If all this was genuinely saved out of salary, Jones must have been living, during his early years in India, on considerably less than half his emoluments. Even over the whole period taken by Mr. Marshall, it is not possible entirely to accept Jones's claim on the figures available. Of course Jones may have made some fortunate but quite innocent investments. Not every audit query is a slur on the accountant's character.

Hierarchy

Sir,—The increasing use of the word "hierarchy" noted in your Commentary (January 8) is due, I suggest, to real advances made in the past twenty years in understanding organization. These have occurred in many fields; some in the understanding of such complex systems as the atmosphere, the economy, the ecological impact of pollutants and the more complex technological systems of communication and control; others in the field of biological development; yet others in understanding systems regulated by the interpretation of information, notably men and societies. In a slightly different sense, the word is used to distinguish levels of organization, in asserting that even the simplest machine is not to be fully explained in terms of physics and chemistry. This denial of Laplacean reductionism is common to such diverse thinkers as Michael Polanyi and Herbert Simon. All these developments owe much to the general system theory first propounded by von Bertalanffy at least as early as 1949 in the book which appeared in English in 1952 as *Problems of Life*.

This wide field contains a good deal of rigorous scientific formulation but the areas where this is lacking are not necessarily the less important or the less quickly growing. In the early stages of formulating a new comprehensive concept, it is to be expected that contributions should seem speculative, even where they prove later to have been substantial. Three hundred years ago the emerging concept of energy was no less "mostly built on speculation unsupported by authentic scientific explanations". Nothing less significant is happening today.

GEOFFREY VICKERS.

Little Mead, Goring-on-Thames, Reading.

C. L. Dodgson

Sir,—Sir Roy Harrod's summarizing appreciation (December 11) of C. L. Dodgson (Lewis Carroll) is endorsed by the impression given of him in one of the "Illustrated Interviews" that helped to make the success of *The Strand Magazine* in the early years of our century.

The interviewer called on Dodgson in his rooms on No. 7 staircase at Christ Church, Oxford. "With all his humour, he takes a very serious view of life and has a grave vein running through his mind. The simplicity of his faith, his deep reverence, and his childlike trust in the goodness of God, are very striking."

Asked about recreation, the author of *Alice in Wonderland* answered that he found it in the theatre. "With his strict views of morality, and refined taste, Mr. Dodgson has often been able to induce stage managers to correct, or omit, anything that might jar on sensitive ears."

That may be taken as a true reading, for factual accuracy was the unremitting watchword of the magazine's greatly respected editor, H. Greenhough Smith.

REGINALD POUND.

Church House, Brede, near Rye, Sussex.

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'J'

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The birth of a true and classless culture?

At the famous Rolling Stones Free Concert in Hyde Park Mick Jagger (the epitome of the pop voice and vocabulary) read a poem in memory of Brian Jones whose death had taken place a day or two before. A fourteen-year-old who had been at the concert told me about this the same evening. He said it was by Che. I was perplexed by this in that as far as I knew Guevara had never written a poem. The next day in the papers I read that the poem was in fact by Shelley, but when a month or two later I saw the film about the concert on TV Jagger indeed said "'n' here for Bry is a poem by Che". The poem was followed by the release of clouds of butterflies. Many of the audience were moved. How many adults who can pronounce "Shelley" and even know his first names were Percy Bysshe, have been as moved by his poetry?

George Melly's anecdote crystallizes the reasons why he has written the best book so far about the pop arts in this country. Cooler and less apocalyptic than Jeff Nuttall (whose *Bomb Culture*, as Mr. Melly himself remarks, remains one of the most perceptive guides to the demonic currents of post-1950 non-establishment British culture), less breathless than Richard Neville (whose engaging *Play Power* is already looking flimsy), more "with it" than Richard Hoggart ("running round his subject like a sheep-dog who senses some danger to his flock but isn't sure what it is or where it will come from", remarks Mr. Melly of the end of *The Uses of Literacy*)—George Melly has the kind of bastardized pedigree which entitles one to expect the mixture of understanding and detachment which is the great virtue of *Revolt into Style*.

* * *

He has been a jazzman, class of the 1950s (the pre-motorway odyssey he recounts in his autobiographical book *Owning Up* gives him a unique insight into the Dormobile life of today's pop-groups travelling from gig to gig). An early English surrealist (he left a job in Mesens's gallery to become Mick Mulligan's vocalist) with a good collection including Magritte's "Le Viol", he shares Breton's anti-aestheticism and revolutionary moral stance, while having, to English ears at least, a better prose style. Writing the cartoon-strip *Flook* gives him not only a sense of humour, but an understanding of the world of comics, which play such an important part in pop painting. As a former television critic, he has been able to see the dissemination of pop styles into the most influential mass medium we have. Everything he writes carries a sharp awareness of the tiny nuances and fine brutalities of the English class system: in a solemn moment, he might even call himself a socialist. And finally there is the fact—of prime importance for a writer on pop—that he comes from Liverpool.

The book is divided into a long introduction, headed "What is British Pop Culture?", and four main sections: on music; visual pop; the performing arts (including radio and television); and pop literature. A postscript dated January, 1970, attempts an evaluation of what has changed because of pop, and where the chameleon movement is heading.

* * *

The author starts by drawing the distinction between "popular" and "pop" cultures:

> Popular culture was unconscious, or perhaps unselfconscious would be more exact, whereas pop culture came about as the result of a deliberate search for objects, clothes, music, heroes and attitudes which could help to define a stance. . . . The soil it sprang from was poor and sour, enclosed on one side by a brief and inadequate education, and on the other by conscription into the forces.

He does not mince the case against pop: its origins in commercial exploitation of the teenage market, its encouragement of post-puberty hysteria, the obsessive narcissism of the "hype" (a heavy public-relations plug, where the mass-media validation of a pop reputation or event almost takes precedence over the thing itself). And yet he is aware that these objections hardly measure up to the phenomenon which is pop. So he proceeds to offer further yardsticks:

> Pop culture is for the most part non-reflective, non-didactic, dedicated only to pleasure. It changes constantly because it is sensitive to change, indeed it could be said that it is sensitive to nothing else. Its principal faculty is to catch the spirit of its time and translate this spirit into objects or music or fashion or behaviour. . . . It has helped the artist or writer to come to terms with his daily environment, and to use it if he wants, as his material. But the importance of this bridge between art and life goes further than providing means for the artist of leaving his ivory tower to pay a visit to the supermarket. The traffic is two-way. . . . Not only have the supermarket or record store become places of a certain fantasy, but posters, typography, clothes, objects etc. have grown increasingly inventive while remaining widely acceptable

With this we move to a wider definition of the concept "pop"; not only the marketed records, clothes, and consumer objects (later categorized as "low pop"), but also "high pop", the intellectually and artistically reputable art-works which draw on the iconography and style of "low pop" for their form and apparent subject-matter, and which increasingly fill the slot which used to be occupied by what in the first half of this century was called "the avant-garde". Thus the Royal Court Theatre's recent festival of experimental and avant-garde theatre (much of it vieux jeu to anyone familiar with Dada or Surrealism) was called "Come Together"—the title of a Beatles number on the L.P. *Abbey Road*. And Mr. Melly gives further examples of the osmosis between "low" and "high" pop: Richard Hamilton's Mick Jagger poster and "a recent, widely distributed poster for soup which conscientiously copies Andy Warhol's Campbell Soup Tins".

* * *

It is his awareness of this ambivalent cross-fertilization between "art-works" and "mass-cult" which gives such distinction to Mr. Melly's approach, and makes it so much more valuable than Michael Compton's thorough but tentatively written survey of pop visual art in the "Movements of Modern Art" series. "Pop art", this begins, "is not, strictly speaking, a single 'Movement', but rather a name given to two independent phases in art since the Second World War. The English phase can with some accuracy be described as . . .". The style here is pedestrian and pedantic, a symptom of just the kind of "art-history" which has been such a bone of contention recently with our art students, whose promiscuous, unruly and completely a-historical appetite for styles Mr. Melly rightly recognizes as the source of much of the vitality in pop, both high and low. *Pop Art* does contain quite a useful little anthology of "documents": quotations from catalogue notes and articles by artists and critics who set the pace of the pop art movement. Amazingly, however, Mr. Compton omits Richard Hamilton's definition of pop, which Mr. Melly gleefully seizes: "popular, transient, expendable, low cost, mass produced, young, witty, sexy, gimmicky, glamorous, and last, but not least, Big Business".

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Mr. Melly, having staked out the territory he is trying to define and

GEORGE MELLY:
Revolt into Style
245pp. Allen Lane The Penguin Press. £2 10s.

MICHAEL COMPTON:
Pop Art
189pp. Hamlyn. 35s.

acknowledged the justness of some of the attacks levelled against it, proceeds to the core of his case for the defence:

> If it is desirable that we move towards a classless society, it is essential, if that society is to be more than a faceless ant-heap, that a classless culture should evolve, and pop-culture—crude, wasteful and mindless as it has for the most part shown itself to date—is the only serious claimant. Its main qualification is that it is a true culture, a direct expression of the aspirations and dreams of society as it is, rather than an attempt to impose a "desirable" culture from above.

Indeed Mr. Melly wades through the day-glo manifestations of pop with some discrimination.

* * *

"Aesthetically and morally, Rock rates pretty low in my book. Yet its crudity and violence were probably necessary to force the breach. Most revolutions begin by exploiting the mob at its worst." The chapter on music charts the progression from Tommy Steele (already noted in *Owning Up* as the progenitor of British pop) to the electronic and electrifying sophistication of *Sergeant Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*—"what strikes me as so interesting is that it is finally a celebration of the past with its certainties and simplicities". A comment like this shows Mr. Melly's sensitivity to the specific characteristics of *British* pop: he detects a similar nostalgia (so unlike the American deadpanism of Warhol and Lichtenstein in their different ways) in the paintings of Peter Blake, who of course did the sleeve photograph for *Sergeant Pepper*.

The chapter on visual pop is almost as good as that on music. It rightly points out—as has Christopher Finch in his Studio Vista book on these artists—that Paolozzi and Hamilton, Blake, Tilson and Kitaj, were a widely diverse group of individual talents who shared only a common interest in the semantics of pictorial language. And Mr. Melly places splendidly the discussions of Lawrence Alloway, Reyner Banham and the other critics and artists of the Independent Group at the Institute of Contemporary Arts. "Although the I.C.A.'s theologians were conscious of the emergence of Tommy Steele and company they were far too busy genuflecting in front of American culture to pay them any attention." On art-schools, he stresses (appropriately enough at this time when they are searching for a new *raison d'être*) their creative spill-over into areas other than visual art or design; after all, they produced talents as assorted as Humphrey Lyttelton and Wally Fawkes in revivalist jazz, or John Lennon, Pete Townshend, and Ray Davies in pop." They provided an atmosphere committed for the most part to no immediate practical end." They were the incubators of total pop. They extended its range into extra-musical fields." He is also very perceptive on the pop poster which, especially in the work of Mike English and Martin Sharp, created a graphic idiom rooted in Ernst, Blake, Disney and Dulac, and yet discernibly of and from London of the 1960s.

> The Underground poster has succeeded in destroying the myth that the visual imagination has to be kept locked up in museums or imprisoned in heavy frames. It has succeeded, however briefly, in fulfilling the pop canon; it has operated in "the gap between life and art".

Out of "high" pop artworks, posters, record-sleeves, fashion (an excellent analysis of the growth in sexual frankness as reflected in the clothes of Mary Quant and John Michael), and the bulbous beauty of the illustrations with which Alan Aldridge printed his signature on the period, Mr. Melly distils the quintessence of pop visual style: "psychedelia, nursery surrealism, soft focus photography, false naivety, a celebration of a kind of innocence and hope".

* * *

The same phrases could cross-fade into an apt description of pop literature, although the author makes the good point that British pop poetry sprang from the provinces, and especially Liverpool, whereas visual pop, above all the posters, was chiefly a London thing. He puts down drug-induced writing with the no-nonsense toughness of a surrealist who has tried automatism and found it wanting:

> Anyone can believe they have gained access to the artificial paradises simply by turning on, but a straight description of what they find there is not in itself enough and usually seems as boring to those who were not there with them as other peoples' holiday snaps.

British pop poetry (a point made by Adrian Mitchell in a recent radio talk) grew from the poetry-reading circuit which proliferated throughout the country during the late 1950s. Reacting against the metropolitan literary establishment, these footloose poets created a predominantly out-of-London scene. This was the British Underground, but "underground poetry was not pop poetry. To be pop is to act as a reflection for a mass audience"; and this only came about with the first Albert Hall poetry reading on June 11, 1965.

Mr. Melly salutes in Adrian Henri, poet, painter, happener, the same kind of charisma he finds in the vanguard figures of pop music: "this bearded, bespectacled, pear-shaped polymath talent was as central to the metamorphosis of British Underground into pop as the Beatles were in relation to beat music".

With regard to the performing arts Mr. Melly is understandably good on pop television, pin-pointing the importance of *Ready Steady Go*, directed by Jack Good, "the D. W. Griffith of the pop style" (Tony Palmer would presumably be its Godard); he pays eloquent homage to the Goons and to Dick Lester's *Hard Day's Night*, "the most seminal of all pop films".

* * *

He is more superficial about theatre, perhaps because he sets out by assuming that "to go to the theatre is a social rite. It means planning in advance, anticipation, arriving on time, clapping at a given time, passivity on the part of the audience: all very anti-pop notions." Maybe there is more real theatre in The Who doing *Tommy* on stage than in most of Shaftesbury Avenue, but this is to neglect attempts by directors such as Peter Brook (in *US*, which Mr. Melly treats flippantly, or the recent *Midsummer Night's Dream*) and Trevor Nunn (whose productions of *The Revenger's Tragedy* and *The …* *Tale* had an irreverent … matic economy which we… It also overlooks the play… Wood, whose *Dingo*, a s… phantasmagoria about … with Churchill as a ve… dummy on Monty's knee, … Lesterish quality: a strange… because Mr. Melly obvio… and likes Charles Wood… only as Dick Lester's scre… *The Knack* and *How I …* *War*.

Mr. Melly called his bo… *into Style* for a specific … believes, and persuasively … strates, that one basic pa… terizes every pop explosion… starts as revolt finishes a… mannerism." This process… tion, of transformation i… and formula working at t… common denominator, i… true of pop, and can be th… music, visual design and … even in fashion itself. … original produces a … carbon copy, and it is … style and flair that fades, … guts and energy of the … Monkees are plastic Bea… Mcguire (who ?—Mr. Me… you) is a plastic Bob D… Melly believes that the … revolt in pop are fixed-b… responding to a need … tially remains the same, … peated: the adolescent … escape from the family." … is achieved, and pop is a … ful way of making the … its impetus." This, couple… anti-intellectualism of pop … of that educationally … leged group which made … pen) means, in Mr. Me… nion, that the pop revol… turn into a social revolution… will always be absorbed. … both "high" and "low" … essentially a-historical (bec… love of instant obsolesce… drained of politics.

* * *

But are things going to … way? Urban guerrillas on … Frost show may still be a… absorbed by the system: … Hamilton's latest work, … print based on a colour … taken from a television … ing one of the victims of … State shootings, goes deeper … object, it has a myster… presence. Hamilton's print … place in the development of … who, without for a moment … "agit-prop", has growingly … delicate poise of his … painter to the expression … and radical political feeling … what was seen to be the … satire of "Just What Is … Today's Homes So Di… Appealing", that tiny 195… which was the seed of British … through the angry prote… "Portrait of Hugh Gaits… Famous Monster of F… prompted by Gaitskell's … of Britain's nuclear … to this latest work. the … between political state… formal expression has g… intense in much of Hamilton… may be that "the popocr… simply look at the Kent S… and say: "Strong man, ye… It remains as one of the … and incisive images of poli… nation in British pop.

So it is perhaps premature … goodbye to the pop adventure … Melly does on his last page … pop has pushed back many … of behaviour, expression … this country.

> It has affected all our … to the good. We are more … stuffy, less intellectually … loving because of pop. It … the monsters too. The stu… of the Ward trial could … place. We have become … our feelings, less concerned … oning conventions. less … more spontaneous.

Rates of change in … sonal conduct are hard to … if pop has really achiev… in less than fifteen y… Tommy Steele as a … ture), then it may yet … in store We may need …

…egel and the natural sciences

…: Philosophy of Nature
…ted by A. V. Miller.
… Clarendon Press: Oxford …ity Press. £3 15s. (paperback,

… Philosophy of Nature
…and translated by M. J. Petry.
…e 1: 392pp. Volume II: … Volume III: 422pp.
…nd Unwin. £18 the set.

…G WILHELM FRIEDRICH
In zwanzig Bänden
… by Eva Moldenhauer and Markus Michel.
…umes published.
…furt: Suhrkamp. DM 12 … DM 180 the set.

…philosophical reputation of … Britain has never been better … controversial, and no part of …k, except perhaps his views … state, has come in for more … than his philosophy of nature. …ertheless somewhat surpris… his main pronouncements on …portant subject have had to … long for an English transla… …ey now appear, by what seems …larly unfortunate coincidence, …one version but in two, each … the work of a careful and competent scholar.

…Miller has contented himself … plain text of the second part of …cyclopaedia, substantially as it …ed in the *Collected Works* …ied after the philosopher's … The editor of the volume …ned, Karl Ludwig Michelet, …mented the terse paragraphs of …*cyclopaedia* itself with additional material drawn from Hegel's …manuscripts and from students' … some modern scholars have …ied his editorial methods, but …is no doubt, as J. N. Findlay says in a foreword, that the additions are indispensable if we are to get any grip on Hegel's difficult thought. The difference between what Hegel printed and what his editor added is brought out typographically in Mr. Miller's translation, in a way which ensures that there should be no confusion between the two.

In Dr. Petry's edition, which covers exactly the same ground, the different strata which go to compose Michelet's text are distinguished more carefully still: it is possible to see at a glance how much of the original edition of 1817 Hegel retained in 1830 and just what he had added to it; it is also possible to separate out among the *Zusätze* material which dates back to Hegel's period at Jena, when he first worked out his ideas on this subject. Dr. Petry believes it essential to set out the text in this manner because of "the light it throws upon Hegel's response or lack of response to the changing state of the natural sciences". Not all readers will share this particular interest of his, but all will be grateful to him for the care and dedication with which he has performed this part of his task.

Mr. Miller, as already indicated, lets Hegel speak for himself; his readers get a useful twenty-five-page foreword from Professor Findlay, but no other help with the text. Dr. Petry provides assistance of quite a different order. He has, in the first place, a critical introduction which runs to 170 pages and covers a wide variety of topics. It is not, perhaps, very enlightening from the philosophical point of view: readers who look in it for a clear statement of the precise differences between philosophy of nature and natural science will do so in vain. But it carries an immense weight of learning and, when taken along with the voluminous notes, stretching to almost 500 pages in all, constitutes a quite remarkable achievement. Dr. Petry has studied Hegel's pronouncements on philosophy of nature against a background of knowledge of the science of the time which must be unique; he documents references, fills in details, indicates the main lines of current controversies and subsequent developments in a wholly admirable way. His vast edition, quite apart from its value to philosophers, will remain an important document for this period of the history of science for many years to come.

It is clear from what Dr. Petry says, and indeed from the simple reading of Hegel's text, that English readers have much to unlearn about this aspect of Hegel's work. So far from being ignorant or careless of contemporary science, Hegel took an immense interest in it; he was surprisingly well-informed about what was going on in astronomy, chemistry, geology and biology, among other sciences, and was familiar with material in journals as well as in books. Dr. Petry gives a list of scientific works which Hegel cites or mentions; it runs to fifteen pages and is remarkably comprehensive.

Unhappily, however, this does not clear up all philosophical doubts about his work. Dr. Petry himself points out more than once that Hegel ceased to follow developments in particular areas, and put his money on what turned out to be the wrong scientific horse; he also shows how in some matters, for example in the celebrated preference for Goethe over Newton about colour, Hegel was inclined to confuse levels and take philosophical criticism for scientific disproof. The truth is surely that his aim as a *Naturphilosoph*, to display nature as in a certain sense the self-expression of spirit, is utterly different from that of any empirical scientist. Philosophy of nature as so understood must draw its material from the particular sciences, but cannot on any account hope to correct them or intervene in them to good effect.

Hegel's bad reputation in this field comes from the belief that he presumed that he could solve empirical problems on a basis of pure philosophy. He did not: his interventions, so far as they are properly so described, were those of an intelligent and well-informed observer, and they were made, of course, at a time when science was altogether a less specialist affair than it is now. But they were, all the same, mistaken in principle; for all his knowledge and his possession of "the Notion", Hegel was not in a position to pronounce on truth and falsehood here. It is a pity that neither Dr. Petry nor Professor Findlay quite brings this out.

There seems to be little to choose between Mr. Miller and Dr. Petry as translators. Each pays scrupulous attention to the text, each has a firm grasp at once of the Hegelian philosophy and the German language, each produces English which, in general, moves smoothly and reads naturally. Dr. Petry makes the greater claims: he believes that existing translations of Hegel in English are "highly unsatisfactory" and "quite inadequate to the purposes of exact scholarship" because they are made without sufficient attention to "the subtlety and consistency with which Hegel employs his philosophical terminology". Analysis of the text in the light of recent German scholarship is needed before we can hope for anything really satisfactory, and thus must go hand in hand with the production of new and better translations of other Hegelian works.

In spite of this, it may be doubted if many readers will find the differences between these two translations more than marginally significant. Dr. Petry will obviously attract the dedicated scholar, if only because of the wider merits of his work; his version of Hegel's text will always deserve careful consideration. But those readers who prefer the handier volume produced by Mr. Miller will not necessarily be having recourse to something inferior. Dr. Petry has put in a lot of work, but so have Mr. Miller and Professor Findlay. And if Dr. Petry has made many discoveries, particularly in the field of history of science, his rivals possess wide experience and deep philosophical scholarship. It is a great pity that the efforts of all three could not have been combined.

Those who wish to study Hegel's philosophy of nature in the original can conveniently do so by getting Volume Nine of the new *Werke in zwanzig Bänden* issued by Suhrkamp. This edition is based on the *Collected Works* of 1832-1845, but is altogether more complete than the latter, including as it does minor writings and the *Jugendschriften*. Hegel's lectures are printed as in the original editions, but appendixes add material bearing upon them which has come to light in recent years. Altogether, this is a most useful production, and constitutes an effective way of marking Hegel's bicentenary last year.

…n we help it?

…THAN GLOVER:
…nsibility
… Routledge and Kegan Paul.

…*nsibility* is a really good book, …orough, and written in a style …without affectation, or any …t desire to score off oppo… Possibly more has been writ… the subject of free-will and …ibility than on any other …hilosophical subject. It is the …markable, therefore, that Mr. …as produced a new book on …c which is without any doubt …ading, and worth buying, for … will find his arguments use… …compressed, and they may …come back to them more …ce.

…ents about freedom and …ility tend to take one of two …ther it is argued that deter… …some form is true, but does …flict with our judgments … a man's responsibility for …nd therefore does not affect … to which we may want to … or blame him for them; …argued that determinism is …, or cannot be made intelli… …d therefore cannot be true. …er's thesis is that determin… … be made coherent; and … or not it is true is an … question. But at any rate it … present be shown to be … then argues that we should … any general conclusions …r readiness to ascribe …lity to people for their acts …se or blame them for what … He concludes that some of …ptions of responsibility … be modified, but that some … But very often the ques… …her or not to hold a man …le for what he has done is a …her than a purely factual

… the very good things about …'s way of going about … is his refusal—central indeed to his thesis—to be hurried into general, overall conclusions. He is perfectly prepared to say that, if determinism in some form is true, then perhaps our language of praise and blame, of rewards and deserts, needs to be modified here and there, without rushing ahead to say, as has been said, that the whole thing must go, and that we must be left with virtually no moral vocabulary at all. An instance of his moderate and careful approach is his discussion of mental illness. It is generally assumed that where we are convinced that someone is suffering from mental illness, we are disinclined to blame him for what he does but more inclined to pity him, and to speak in terms of cure rather than punishment. Mr. Glover does not dispute this; but he argues that the decision whether someone *is* to be said to be mentally ill is not straightforward, and is itself often a moral decision about how to treat him. The difficulty of deciding, in such a case, whether to use the terminology of illness and cure or of crime and punishment, wickedness and blame, is largely the result of a gross confusion in the language of psychology itself. There simply is no clear and agreed distinction, for example, between neurosis and psychosis; there is no certainty about where to draw a line round the concept of schizophrenia; there is no satisfactory way of defining hysteria.

By patiently expounding some of the areas of unclarity in the field of mental illness Mr. Glover suggests the complexity of any particular decision to say that a particular man was not to be blamed for what he did. In the same style, he goes on to consider the concept of punishment, and the piecemeal decisions about this which may have to be made, on the assumption that determinism is, as a matter of empirical fact, true. The whole book is of absorbing interest. It hangs together beautifully round its central theme, and is a model of philosophical virtue.

In the mind's eye

TIMOTHY L. S. SPRIGGE:
Facts, Words and Beliefs
351pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. £4 10s.

Dr. Sprigge writes in the preface of his book that "it is to be hoped that this is not a very original work, for on the whole the more original a philosophical theory is the less likely it is to be true". It is hard to know whether these hopes have been fulfilled, for *Facts, Words and Beliefs* is extremely opaque in style and perhaps in the thought that lies behind the style.

Some may think that the opaqueness applies even to the problem that Dr. Sprigge has set himself. He characterizes this as that of making precise and suggesting some answers to the question how "a few stray images, muttered words or whatever, which run through our minds somehow constitute (as surely they can do) our envisagement of some situation perhaps remote in time and place from our present position". The problem seems to have something in common with that which H. H. Price, with whom Dr. Sprigge acknowledges some affinity, has always seen in the possibility of thinking of something in absence. This problem is connected with problems about belief in that the "envisagement" which is under consideration is of a "situation which we believe to exist".

But although Dr. Sprigge claims in Part Three to be considering various accounts of belief, his preoccupation in that section with images and imagism suggests that he is less concerned with belief itself than with one of the necessary conditions of belief—the possibility of something "coming before the mind". Dr. Sprigge offers in this connexion a specifically mentalistic account of that possibility, and he is surely right, although whether he is also right to defend "imagism" as the basic theory on the grounds that image experiences "at their most complete, are more complete acts of belief than a verbal experience can be" is another matter. He maintains indeed, that a being who used words, but had no imagery, would in an important sense "never really *know* what was being talked about". It is very hard to know whether this is true, and if so, why.

On the way to his conclusion Dr. Sprigge maintains a number of unfashionable doctrines, some of them connected with the ontological and semiotic background to his main, epistemological, thesis. He begins with a defence of the notion of sense-data, moves via the thesis that "predicates name universals" to a consideration of universals and to a view of facts which makes them "particularized universals", such as the redness of A. There is both in this section and in the subsequent one on meaning much use of technical terms and distinctions, and Dr. Sprigge often uses accepted technical terms like "syncategorematic" and "connotation" in unorthodox ways. None of this makes the discussion easy to follow, let alone to accept.

Moreover, he has the habit of throwing out statements of doctrine without any argument at all. Thus, we are told for example that relational propositions like "aRb" are "of course, subject-predicate, with two subjects, 'a' and 'b'". Has not Dr. Sprigge heard of well-known objections to such a thesis? And what of the dictum that "I do indeed obtain my conception of pain from pain that I experience, as I do all my basic empirical concepts from things that I experience"? There are also well-known objections to that thesis, and they do not receive any direct discussion.

All in all, *Facts, Words and Beliefs* cannot be said to be a successful book. It is too long, too opaque, and too idiosyncratic. And although it raises many interesting issues, the dogmatic nature of much of the discussion makes it difficult to arrive at a firm decision either on its originality or on its truth.

SUNDAY MIRROR
NATIONAL EXHIBITION OF CHILDREN'S ART 1971
Entries are invited for the 1971 exhibition, to be shown in London in September/October.
A £300 grant for training in art will be given to the exhibitor whose work on further examination shows the most promise.
Age limit: 17 years
Closing date: 20th March 1971
For full details of entry and awards send stamped addressed envelope to:
National Exhibition of Children's Art (Leaflet B)
12-16 Dryden Street
Off Endell Street
London WC2

Grand manner

GEORGE H. CALLCOTT:
History in the United States 1800-1860

239pp. Johns Hopkins Press (U.B.L.C.). £4 5s.

This useful book deals with the problems of historiography in a new country whose history, in fact and in literary expression, was largely in the future. It was also a country in which national pride and exultation were almost compulsory or, at any rate, in which critical analysis was deeply deprecated. The famous modern lives of the American revolutionary saints were not so much parodied as given more extravagant expression in the hagiography of Parson Weems, and the view that the appearance of the United States was the divine event to which the whole creation moved was given expression, in the high Germanic manner, by George Bancroft.

True, not all American writers found, like Saint Cecilia, "that to their organ vocal breath was given", and the innocent reader of this book may go away with the impression that Richard Hildreth and George Bancroft were American historians of much the same kind. There are those who think that the austere Benthamite, Hildreth, was a better historian than the flamboyant Bancroft, but there is no doubt that the American people wanted eloquence and sanctification in the new patriotic religion. There was no effective market for sceptical chroniclers like Hume in England and, in spite of Dr. Callcott's optimistic allusion, there is no evidence of the influence of Vico.

Most of the historians mentioned here are very minor or merely worthy figures. If they were great men like Chief Justice Marshall, their historiographical efforts are not the foundations or even the minor adornments of their fame, and the American historians who caught the imaginations of American (and European) readers, like Prescott or Washington Irving, took themes from outside the United States. There were sound if dull chroniclers like Abiel Holmes, now so completely eclipsed by his son and grandson, the Autocrat and the Justice, that the learned clerical chronicler is forgotten, as indeed are most of the pious and patriotic narrators dealt with here.

It was not that there was no demand for history: Macaulay was much read, not quite such a maker of fiction as the even more popular Dumas. There was also a supply: Dr. Callcott counts "145 important historians between 1800 and 1860"—most of them totally unknown today and only superficially influential in that period, though some school "Texts" sold almost as well as Dickens. It is perhaps an adequate indication of the state of popular historical writing in the United States that the agreeable, but even by eighteenth-century standards shallow narratives of the ingenious Dr. Goldsmith continued to be very widely read. It was a long way from the thousand-strong phalanxes of the American Historical Society meetings!

This is a useful if not a very acute book. It tells us of the inordinate length of sentences in the classical historians of this period and of the involved clauses of George Bancroft (he had not studied at "the University of Göttingen" for nothing!).

President at Princeton

The Papers of Woodrow Wilson
Edited by Arthur S. Link.
Volume 8: 1892-1894.

713pp. Princeton University Press. London: Oxford University Press. £7 5s.

In this volume we have Wilson abandoning the day-dreaming of a possible political career that had haunted him down to his unsuccessful effort to make a career at the Atlanta bar. Forced to accept the limitations of even a successful academic career, he could exaggerate the possibilities of the life of the academy, not so much as a substitute for the life of action, but as an important form of it. He could tell an alumni dinner that "in a certain sense the education of this country depends on Princeton". "King Charles" Eliot at Harvard and William Rainey Harper at Chicago might have raised their eyebrows at this excessive estimate of the role of the quondam College of New Jersey; yet Wilson was not merely acting as a post-prandial cheerleader, but putting forward a serious claim for the role of Princeton in the nation that he was to justify—almost.

Whatever improbable hopes Professor Wilson may have secretly cherished, it was as an increasingly admired young leader in the creation of one of the most promising of the new universities, which were replacing the old church-orientated colleges, that eyes were turning to Wilson. He would go far, if it was not yet certain where he would go. So we have more here of academic politics than of national politics or even of the drab politics of New Jersey. Princeton presented its own challenges as the prolonged birthpangs of Princeton University shattered the tranquil life of the College of New Jersey. And Princeton was more and more in the centre of Wilson's life. He still gave an annual course at the Johns Hopkins, where he found more serious students but, belatedly, Princeton was following after Harvard—and Yale. Many of the letters are of mild interest today for the history of Princeton, but may well seem less interesting—and important—than the history of Wilson. He was still hankering after serious legal studies in the college—and thinking of what might be done to create a graduate school. His ideas at both levels were still of the promotion of the "liberal arts". The days when President Wilson would push ahead with laying the foundations of Princeton's brilliant record in the natural sciences were in the future, although he is already thinking of the role of what were to be the "preceptors" when he was finally in command.

At the moment, however, Wilson was still only in a limited sense an academic pioneer. Thus he was a strong defender of college football against the mounting tide of criticism. But he assumed that the gentlemen's colleges of the East would control and by example—and by athletic competence—give a lead to the outer barbarians. The moral superiority of Harvard in its athletic programmes was not accepted. After all, it was notorious that President Eliot approved only of rowing and Princeton had not yet received that ambiguous gift, Luke Carnegie. But Wilson not only could not foresee the rise of the great Middle Western universities with their heroes like Red Grange, Stagg and Knute Rockne, but the replacement of all college football teams by the new professionals drilled to a most unamateurish proficiency by professionals like Vince Lombardi.

Wilson's primary interest, however, was not football or even the fostering of college spirit. He was now a highly attractive "property" from a publisher's point of view. His *Division and Reunion*, if not as original and attractive a book as *Congressional Government*, was much more than a college text, and the lecture notes we have here, from both Princeton and the Johns Hopkins, give some explanation of his growing prestige as a college teacher and public speaker. He is still, nearly as much as when he wrote *Congressional Government*, inclined to write down or write off the presidency. His hostility to Jefferson revealed here was not merely the result of his possibly unconscious Federalist bias or of his new-found devotion to Burke, but of his ce
Jefferson was importing
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for a future Democrat
but they revealed a gr
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with the rank and file
Democratic Party wh
did not love. Wilson
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reconciliate Bryan and
the more respectable
Tammany, but some
difficulties are foresha

Yet Wilson was
practising academic p
theorizing national
later authoritarian ro
(of Princeton and o
States) is foreshadow
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Wilson (who if onl
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Irishman—even in an
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upright conduct—wh
acting as moral censor
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political, might have
dictum to Wilson—an
insisting that Wilson (li
not very ready to cens
himself! But we have to
as he was, a far from fl
man which, after all, is b
Burke. Here he is free
flaws but not yet in a fi
that could bring out all
and faults. Professor L
colleagues let us see the
greatness and also the
Gladstonian desire to h
up his sleeve. The belief
put them there came late

Secretary of state and war

The Papers of John C. Calhoun
Edited by W. Edwin Hemphill.
Volume IV: 1819-1820.
800pp. University of South Carolina Press. $15.

The great enterprise of publishing the Calhoun papers moves majestically on and the standards of near perfection achieved in the first three volumes (reviewed in the *TLS* on March 27, 1969) are maintained in the current instalment. As is usual in reviewing these great American series, the desperate reviewer looks in vain, or almost in vain, for errors.

We see in these volumes Calhoun settling down to his reforming job in the War Department and, for a time, acting also as Secretary of the Navy. In the history of the War Department, Calhoun was a most careful and decisive administrator; and more than that, he was an innovating Secretary. He was not a Haldane, but he was at least a Cardwell or a Root and he had more intelligent ideas of what kind of army the United States needed in the inevitable let-down after the not very brilliant record of the War Department under President Madison (and Mr. Monroe). The army, as Calhoun saw it, should serve as a frontier police force, dealing with Seminoles and Choctaws, as the builder and staffer of the new system of coastal forts, and as the provider of a "nucleus" of highly trained officers round which a militia-based army could be built to deal with inevitable British aggression—and to implement what was to be called "manifest destiny".

Calhoun did not get it all his own way. He had to deal with pugnacious heroes of Mr. Madison's War like Andrew Jackson and Winfield Scott and, more amicably, with Jacob Brown. He had to support the great reforming Superintendent of West Point, Sylvanus Thayer, and to impose discipline both on the cadets and on the academic faculty. Some of his professional assistants gave him (it appears) little or no trouble. Of such was the distinguished Napoleonic exile, General Simon Bernard. But there were high-ranking officers who recalled, if they did not equal in deviousness, General James Wilkinson, and there were cadets who caused trouble and self-important professors of the West Point faculty who caused more.

There were problems of policy as well as personality. How was the Indian trade to be carried on? Was the United States to give up its system of direct trade with the Indians and open the way to possibly unscrupulous and certainly aggressive private traders? Private enterprise resented government interference and federal officials who had the responsibility of keeping peace on the frontier had good reason to be fearful of the possible results of the traders' methods. And there were the problems presented by the competition of the great British trading companies and fears, real or imaginary, of the political results of British "interference" over the wide open boundaries.

More serious was the liquidation of Spanish Florida. It was doubly serious, for Florida was the key to Cuba and Cuba was the jewel of the Caribbe
course, coveted by
Albion as the Spanish E
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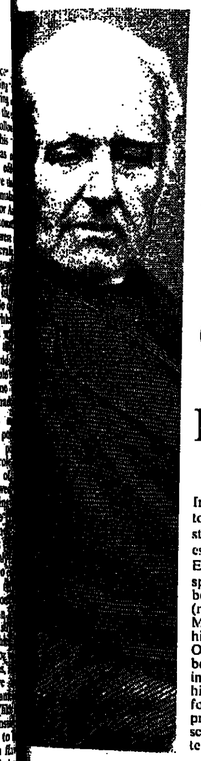


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Dyce's recollections of Wordsworth, Mrs. Siddons, and other notable persons

By S. Schoenbaum

In his own day an eminent Victorian, the Rev. Alexander Dyce is still remembered for his editions, especially of Shakespeare and other Elizabethan dramatists, and for the splendid collection of books that he bequeathed to the South Kensington (now the Victoria and Albert) Museum. Born in 1798, he received his B.A. degree from Exeter College, Oxford, and was obliged to choose between taking orders and a career in the East India Company, which his father served. He chose the former, but soon surrendered his provincial curacy to follow his scholarly pursuits in bachelor quarters at Gray's Inn Square. A sociable man with a passion for literature and the theatre, he knew—or knew about—most of the celebrated poets and actors of his day. Fortunately, near the end of his life, he decided to set down his recollections. The foul papers of his *Reminiscences*, comprising 238 folios, most of them detached from their binding and in fragile condition, today form part of the Dyce holdings at the Victoria and Albert (MS.D.26.E.9). A clue to their date appears early on (folio 66) when Dyce refers to seeing the newspaper account of Charles Kean's death. The actor died in January, 1868, not many months before the onset of the debilitating disease which ended Dyce's life the next year. He never had a chance to reduce his *Reminiscences* to order.

A number of the entries concern people well known in Dyce's time but today almost (or quite) forgotten. Thus a long section is devoted to Samuel Rogers, the Banker Poet who was—astonishingly—offered the Poet-Laureateship on the death of Wordsworth (Rogers refused, and it went to Tennyson). But Byron, Coleridge, Edmund Kean, Mrs. Siddons, and Wordsworth also figure in Dyce's pages, and for the last-mentioned he furnishes transcripts of conversation. Some of the anecdotes are no doubt apocryphal, and versions of others are available elsewhere, but a high degree of interest attaches to much of this material. Sometimes, indeed, the retelling of a story may have corroborative value and supply a fresh detail. Thus, we know of Donne's maggoty cheese, which had such improbably fateful consequences, from a manuscript note by Madden retrieved by Professor Bronson; Dyce gives an independent version and identifies the little girl who made the unfortunate exclamation.

Although Dyce is often describing events which took place many years earlier, he had the scholar's habit of keeping notes. "From my first introduction to Mr. Rogers", he remarks in the preface to his edition of Rogers's *Table-Talk*, "I was in the habit of writing down, in all their minutiæ, the anecdotes, &c. with which his conversation abounded." Dyce also has the conscience of a scholar: even in this rough draft he is inclined to distinguish between first and second-hand information, and for the latter he often indicates his sources. His *D.N.B.* memorialist, Bullen, justly praises him for his "minute accuracy" and "nice discrimination". He is more trustworthy than most gossips.

So far as I know, the *Reminiscences* has not before been studied!—unsurprisingly, for it is not entered in the printed catalogue of the Dyce Collection. (The manuscript, given to the Museum in 1905, is in the Dyce and Forster Auxiliary Collection.) A representative selection of the more interesting items, which are happily not free from scandal, follows. I reproduce them with a minimum of editorial intervention. Sometimes I have had to choose between alternative readings (Dyce revised without always scoring through what he wished to discard), and I have lowered superior letters and expanded a contraction. I have also supplied punctuation in a few places. The headings are usually, but not always, Dyce's own.

...d Lady Byron

CAMPBELL . . . told
an undoubted fact, what
...and Harness, who was ready
...on most occasions, to defend
...yron, confessed that he feared
true.—Some hours after Adu
...Lord Byron came into his
...om, and, seating himself on
...informed her that Lady Mil-
...is in town. "My mother in
...she replied; "good heavens,
...h, is she not with me?"
...nswered he, "you cannot
..."For what reason",
...y Byron, in great surprise.
...h, he rejoined in a bitter
...oice, "because she is laid
...art's Hotel with the cry-
...her head; *and I hope in*
...he will die."

...Campbell

...e loss of his wife, which
...the more acutely in con-
...f the malady of his son,
...though he ought not to
...as an habitual drunkard)
...en intoxicated that he
...ered himself in the esti-
...he world. He would some-
...me in Gray's Inn during
...on his way from High-
...he had lodgings there;
...om failed to ask for a
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...failing of Campbell,—
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...dulging in language of
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...ally uncomfortable. . . .
...tory which he used to
...ing himself (and which,
...entured to tell it to Mrs.
...ay insert here) was this.
...ng man, fond during a
...London to Edinburgh,
...the night at (I believe)
...e had scarcely slipped
...en the door opened, and
...hambermaid advancing
towards him, said, "Hae ye ony objection, sir, to a bedfellow?"—"Not the least, my lddear", cried Campbell in considerable excitement.—"Eh, sir," rejoined the maiden, "I'm sae glad I for our Jock the driver has jist come hame, drunk; and as we dinna ken what to do wi' him, we'll pit him into the bed wi' you."

Samuel Taylor Coleridge

I HAVE repeatedly heard my friend, the late John Kenyon, cite the following instance of Coleridges' fatal passion for ...plum. One night, after a dinner at Kenyon's house in London, Coleridge proceeded to walk home to his lodgings; and, as the weather was very fine, Kenyon, for the sake of exercise, accompanied him part of the way. It was nearly twelve o'clock, and the shops were all shut. When they came to a chemist's shop (in what street I forget), Coleridge suddenly stopped, and knocked at the door. No attention being paid to his knocking, he continued it more and more violently, till he had wrought himself up to a state of great excitement. At last the chemist appeared at a window, and asked rather angrily, "What was the matter?" On learning who had knocked, he said in a milder tone of voice, "O, Mr. Coleridge? very well"; and, shutting the window, presently came down stairs, and opened the door to serve his old customer. The fact was, Coleridge happened to be "out of opium", and consequently felt so miserable, that he could not return home till he had procured a fresh supply.

Southey was a somewhat impatient listener to Coleridge's metaphysical and long-winded talk. When Southey was engaged on his *History of Brazil*, Coleridge said to him, "My dear Southey, I wish to know how you intend to treat of man in that important work. Do you mean, like Herodotus, to treat of man as man in general? or do you mean, like Thucydides, to treat of man as man political? or do you mean, like Polybius, to treat of man as man military? or do you mean"—"Coleridge", cried Southey, "*I mean to write the History of Brazil.*"

Coleridge had a mortal antipathy to Scotchmen, produced perhaps, or at any rate strengthened, by the remarks of the Edinburgh reviewers on the Lake poets. Speaking of a certain North-Briton, [Sir James Mackintosh?], he said, "Sir, he is a Scotchman and a rascal, and I do not lay the emphasis on *rascal*."...

James Wallack was present among the other actors in the Green-room of Drurylane Theatre when Coleridge read to them his tragedy of *Remorse*, and gave them particular directions how certain passages were to be delivered. His reading was a sort of high musical chant; and his ideas of stage-effect were so exquisitely ridiculous, that the actors had great difficulty in listening to him without bursting out into laughter.

Haydon, Leigh Hunt, and Keats

HAYDON and Leigh Hunt having quarrelled, all intercourse ceased between them. Soon after this rupture, John Keats said to the former: "Haydon, as I was lately walking near Hampstead, I met Leigh Hunt and his family, some of whom were carrying baskets. I asked where they were going, and Hunt replied that 'they had set apart the day to hold a sort of festival in honour of you,—that they were to dine in the fields and drink your health'". Haydon was much gratified by this account; for what a kindness Leigh Hunt must have for him, if even after their quarrel, he showed such respect for his character and talents! When some one told Hunt how delighted the painter was by this circumstance, the author of *Rimini* exclaimed, with a hearty laugh, "Haydon! I! why, we never thought of him: we were keeping the birthday of Hadyn the composer."

Haydon, Mrs. Siddons, and Hazlitt

WHEN Haydon asked her [Mrs. Siddons] to dine with him, he invited Hazlitt also. "I shall not come", said Hazlitt; "for I have been accustomed to see Mrs. Siddons only on the stage, and to regard her as something almost above humanity; and I do not choose to have the charm broken."

Mrs. Jordan

LATTERLY, of course, the effect of her performances was marred by the extreme unfitness of her figure for the juvenile parts, of which a large portion of her repertoire consisted: yet there was such a charm about her, that when an elderly, fat, dumpy woman,—and having some sort of string attached to her wig and passed tightly under her chin, to make a distinction between the said chin and her neck,—she continued to play youthful belles, and even hoydens of sixteen, to crowded and applauding houses.

Edmund Kean and His Wife

SHE WAS inclined to think that he had a touch of insanity; in proof of which . . . she would cite his behaviour on the death of their eldest son, Howard, a remarkably beautiful and precocious boy, who died of water on the brain at Dorchester in his fifth year, in November 1813. Kean was deeply attached to Howard; yet when the child was lying a corpse in its little bed, and Mrs. Kean was sitting sadly beside it, he suddenly rushed into the room, frightfully excited,—ran to a cupboard,—took out a bottle of beer—poured the contents over the dead body,—and then fell down on the floor in a state of utter exhaustion. But this would seem to have been a sort of madness produced by intoxication; for he had just come from a tavern, where, in the hope of forgetting his grief, he had been swallowing quantities of brandy.

Drinking had always been Kean's besetting sin; and many were the disagreeable adventures in which it involved him. While "starring" at Norwich, he, one night after the play, got dreadfully drunk, had a battle royal in the street, and, fell into the hands of the watchmen. He was to have dined next day with the Bishop of Norwich (Bathurst); but he was so disfigured by the blows he had received on his face, that he was compelled to send an apology to his lordship. A large bump on his nose threatened to be permanent: "No matter, Mary", said Kean to his wife; "I shall now have a Roman nose as well as John Kemble."...

The reckless course of profligacy which Kean had been pursuing for several years not only injured his health, but—a usual consequence—hardened his heart. He conceived a hatred of his unoffending wife, and showed it by an extravagance of behaviour, which kept her in constant alarm: for instance, once, at their house in the island of Bute, he, in the middle of the night, drew a dagger from under his pillow, and brandished it as if about to stab her: upon which, she softly slid out of bed, and retreated to the room of her sister, Miss Chambers (a clever woman, who always resided with them, and who, it appears, was able at times to exercise some influence, for good, over the mind of her brother-in-law). At last, he entirely separated himself from his wife; nor did she see him again till upwards of seven years had elapsed, when, shortly before the death of Kean, a sort of reconciliation took place between them through the kindly offices of their son, who, with true filial affection, had adhered to the fortunes of his mother during all her trials.

John Kemble

THE FOLLOWING anecdote rests on the authority of Kemble's nephew, the late Horace Twiss, who related it to me as a fact.—From some passage or lobby in the old Drurylane Theatre it was possible to get a partial view of the interior of Kemble's dressing-room by looking through some sort of aperture: which, during the run of *Pizarro*, used to be nightly besieged by ladies of a certain description, whose constant cry was, "Do, Kemble, like a good fellow, come a little forward when you have dressed yourself, and let us have a sight of you." But Kemble continued to turn a deaf ear to their importunities; with an account of which he regularly amused his wife on returning from the theatre. One night, however, he came

home seemingly in rather low spirits. "What's the matter?" asked Mrs. Kemble: "has anything happened? or have the ladies ceased their flattering requests to see you?"—"No, P ", he replied, "no; not exactly: but there has been a-a-a slight mistake." "How so?" "Why, to-night, after dressing myself, I was foolish enough to comply with their wishes by coming a little forward before leaving the room; when immediately I heard a shrill voice exclaim in a tone of disappointment, "Law, girls, we're all wrong! it is'nt Charles! *it's only the old 'un!*"

Joseph Ritson

EVERY BODY knows that Ritson strictly abstained from animal food. One night he was supping with Douce, when a girl (a niece of Mrs. D.) exclaimed, "Only look at Mr. Ritson! I thought he never tasted animal food; and yet he's now devouring hundreds of living things in that piece of old cheese!" Ritson, who chose to fancy that Douce had incited her to make the observation, was vehemently angry, and quarrelled with him in consequence; and, I believe, a perfect reconciliation never took place between them.[2]

Mrs. Siddons

SHE spoke in a deep clear tone of voice, articulating each word distinctly; and she illustrated what she happened to be saying by a little more—a very little more—gesticulation than is usual in private society. Her whole manner and bearing were the perfection of dignity and grace. When the introduction was over, she said to me, "I will confess I was unwilling to become acquainted with you, for, though so much of my life has been spent in public, I have always had a nervous dread of being formally introduced to strangers; but *now that you have made my acquaintance*, I hope you will do me the favour to call frequently."

William Wordsworth

BEING now an acknowledged "lion", his society was eagerly courted by the fashionable world: "To-day", he would say, "I dine with Miss Coutts, who takes me in the evening to a party at Sir Francis Burdett's; tomorrow I dine with Lady", &c. &c. "And can it be", I asked Mrs. Wordsworth (who kept quite aloof from these festivities), "can it be that he really finds pleasure in such a whirl round of gaiety?" "Yes", she replied, "he really does, because it is something new to him; but he will soon tire of it, and gladly return to our quiet home." . . .

I subjoin some miscellaneous fragments of Wordsworth's conversation: whatever may be thought of them, I can vouch for their accuracy.

"It was very wrong in me to say in the earlier editions of my *Poems*, that Pope *pilfered* from the older English poets; for it was not the fashion of his day to acknowledge in notes any borrowed expressions. I have the highest admiration of Pope; still I think he had little poetic feeling."

"Dryden's *Juvenal* is in many parts excellent,—even superior to the original." . . .

"The pleasure I derive from architecture, sculpture, and painting (which I have perhaps vainly endeavoured to express in parts of my poetry) is only second to the pleasure which I derive from nature."

"I should like very well to reside in London during several months of the year: but I cannot say that I relish the short visits I pay to it, during which I live in a constant bustle, breakfasting and dining out every day, and keeping much later hours than suit my habits. I delight in the walks about London, to which no one, no poet at least, has done justice: how charming is the walk along the Serpentine! There is no nobler view in London than that of Cheapside and the rise of Ludgate Hill. To me the streets present objects of great picturesqueness: even a butcher's shop by candle-light, with its varieties of colour, light, and shade is very striking." . . .

"When I first saw the Rialto at Venice I was greatly disappointed: it had so many associations in my mind! and I expected something very different from a mean-looking bridge."

"The scenery of Switzerland, with its sharp peaks and precipices, its dark fir-trees and pure white snow, is not well adapted for pictures; the forms and combination of colour are bad."

"I have given up my intention of publishing *a selection* from Thomson's *Works* (poems and plays), because I think I ought not to treat in that manner so distinguished a poet. I have the most ardent admiration and profound respect for Thomson. I doubt if any writer since Milton has shown so much poetic feeling. Parts of *The Castle of Indolence* are divine. I say nothing of his taste; and Burns had more passion." . . .

"De Quincey the opium-eater, is a person of great intellect and great attainments; I am sorry to add that he is a great liar and rascal: he has lately contributed to *Tait's Magazine* a series of papers on Coleridge, which are full of the grossest falsehoods. Hogg, the Etrick Shepherd, is another liar of the first magnitude."* . . .

*I am much mistaken if Wordsworth's anger at De Quincey was not so much in consequence of what he had written about Coleridge, as occasioned by something he had published about a child of our poet who died very young.—For this attack on the Etrick Shepherd I cannot account: but in a prefatory note to his *Extemporary Effusion upon the death of James Hogg*, Wordsworth remarks, "He was undoubtedly a man of original genius, but *of coarse manners and low and offensive opinions*." [Dyce's note.]

"In my lines on *St. Bees Heads*, I adopted the unusual form of stanza from Charlotte Smith's *St. Monica*, a very pleasing poem which I had never read till I saw it in your *Specimens of British Poetesses*. Charlotte Smith was a personal friend of mine."

"When I compose a poem I generally begin with the most striking and prominent part; and if I feel pleased with my exec I then proceed to fill parts."

"In writing poetical d natural objects, it is b write them on the sp you do, you will ente deal of unnecessary d should write just after removed from your si its great features only impressed upon your m

1. Since writing this, I h Professor Richard J. Schr ton University has comple of the *Reminiscences* to brief biography of Dy edition, reflecting a compre of the manuscript (which undertaken), should be ve

2. Sir Frederick Madde which appears as a note leaved copy of *Bibliogra* runs as follows: "Ritson in Mr. Douce's house bread and cheese for lun a little girl who was in the innocently looked up in h and said 'La! Mr. Rits quantity of mites you Ritson absolutely tremble sion — laid down his abruptly quitted the room Douce following him, he s of excitement, 'You hav on purpose to insult me' answer Mr Douce mad there is the door, and I to see you again within it'. H. Bronson, *Joseph Rit at-Arms*, Berkeley, Calif., 19

3. I wish to thank the sta toria and Albert, especially Burton, for their courtesy ness.

Out of the dream house

DONALD WESLING:
Wordsworth and the Adequacy of Landscape
96pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. 30s.

GEOFFREY DURRANT:
Wordsworth and the Great System
179pp. Cambridge University Press. 35s.

Wordsworth and the Adequacy of Landscape is brief, sketchy, thoughtful, infuriating, at times very good. Mr. Wesling treats a central Wordsworthian subject, and ranges over most of Wordsworth's greatest poetry, in ninety-two pages. Worse, he chooses to divide his meagre ration not merely into three chapters but into sixteen quite separate little sections of half-a-dozen pages apiece. One is not surprised when a comparison of the Simplon Pass and Climbing of Snowdon at this length fails to convince; and yet there are moments when Mr. Wesling accomplishes a great deal in his limited space. The section on Wordsworth's solitaries, for instance, is highly sensitive, and shows real understanding of what these often incongruous figures meant for the poet himself. It is not a book that is easy to assess.

Mr. Wesling's thesis is that, while early in Wordsworth's writing life

> "the world" found its locus in educative-rugged landscapes of the Lake District and the Alps, later on and increasingly "the world" came to mean society, institutions, the locus of human bereavement and suffering. The great poems of 1798-1807 were written as he felt his way towards man: "Farewell, farewell, the heart that lives alone, /Housed in a dream, at distance from the Kind!"

In these poems of transition we watch Wordsworth

> trying with larger and larger capaciousness to find what it means to be humanized by time and suffering. As [he] comes to explore many of the side-issues of what it means to be a responsibly mature moral artist, he inevitably and rightly—but often with the desolation which obtains when one tampers with an early love—begins to question the adequacy of landscape.

Certain reservations have to be made. One is bound to object on chronological grounds to a lumping together of the poetry of "human bereavement" with that of "society, institutions". The first comes very early ("The Ruined Cottage", the lyrical ballads, "The Brothers" and "Michael" all date from 1797-1800); the second gets under way with the "Ode to Duty" in 1804. But far more important are the questions begged, and therefore raised, by Mr. Wesling's concept of "the adequacy of landscape". When, and how, and to what extent, did Wordsworth ever think landscape adequate in itself?

Mr. Wesling sees Wordsworth's highest achievement as a blending of the descriptive and meditative modes (apparently to be found in the Simplon Pass, but not in the Climbing of Snowdon). The astonishing thing about the book is that modes they remain. Mr. Wesling does not for one moment concern himself with content, meaning, message. That he knows this to be an evasion is strongly implied by the opening sentence of Chapter Three: "A study of landscape needs to touch only lightly on the larger question of Wordsworth's concept of nature." Landscape in Wordsworth's poetry cannot be isolated from Nature, however convenient it may be to use a term that has more limited connotations. If one adds that in discussing meditation Mr. Wesling doesn't mention what the meditation is about, it should suggest a certain lack of perspective in his views. But the thesis is not really that important. The book will be read for its insights, for the pleasure of following, and failing to follow, an acute critical mind through twists and turns, stops and starts, that are sometimes illuminating, often misdirected, but never dull.

About *Wordsworth and the Great System* little need be said. Professor Durrant's claim that Wordsworth was a follower of Newton emerges as no more credible than it sounds. Awareness of Newton in the 1790s was as certain as awareness of Darwin in the 1870s, or of Freud fifty years later: discipleship is rarer, and in this case very far from proven. Professor Durrant supports his view by an astonishingly naive analysis of the poet's use of symbol:

> Wordsworth often presents his world as an arrangement of a limited number of "poetic objects" organized in formal patterns. His "nature" is a highly intellectual construction, and is created by the transformation of the "unintelligible world" into a lucid order.

The book develops into a quest for "poetic objects". No stone is left unturned, no star dare show itself for fear of becoming part of a geometrical pattern. In his confident obsession Professor Durrant sweeps all before him, never pausing to think that Wordsworth could have had other ends in mind, that the objects he finds could have local and variable significance. Long poems and short, good poems and bad, "patiently give up their quiet being" in the name of Newton's lucid order.

One example will suffice. "Live, ye trees", writes Wordsworth in one of the *Miscellaneous Sonnets*,

> And thou, grey Stone, the pensive likeness keep
> Of a dark chamber where the Mighty sleep:
> For more than Fancy to the influence bends
> When solitary Nature condescends
> To mimic Time's forlorn humanities.

For Wordsworth the grey stone looks like a tomb, for Professor Durrant it is "the image of the relentless gravitational pull". Did an apple perhaps drop on his head when he was a child?

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Bard biographers

S. SCHOENBAUM:
Shakespeare's Lives
838pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. £6.

Professor Schoenbaum tells us, in an almost Gibbonian phrase, that the idea of his book came to him on September 1, 1964, in the church where Shakespeare lies buried, and that it was intended to be "a little book narrating the quest for knowledge of Shakespeare the Man". Six years later, thanks to Guggenheim, it has become a monumental volume which deals faithfully not merely with the gradual accumulation of information about Shakespeare from his day to ours, but with the lives and characters of those who have found or invented facts and of those who attempted to make the dry bones live.

Professor Schoenbaum has cast his net widely. He includes amateur antiquarians, professional scholars, forgers, Baconians, Derbyites and the rest of the lunatic fringe, even some writers of fiction. The gallery includes some strange figures. It is easy to understand why, in the age of Chatterton, Jordan and Ireland should manufacture relics for the credulous; but why should a reputable scholar like Collier, who had made genuine discoveries, recorded some of Coleridge's lectures, and beaten Keats at billiards, indulge in a continuous series of forgeries? About Collier, Professor Schoenbaum has unearthed some new facts, including what is virtually a confession (see his article published in the *TLS* on June 26, 1969). Then there is Halliwell-Phillipps, who made great additions to our knowledge but began his career as a thief of manuscripts; or Dr. C. W. Wallace, who made several important discoveries and then behaved in a paranoid and deceitful way.

A recurring theme in the book is the tendency of biographers of Shakespeare to produce self-portraits. It was as natural for Samuel Butler and Oscar Wilde to depict him as a homosexual as for Frank Harris to depict him as an unabashed sensualist. It is natural for Catholics to seize on the phrase "he died a papist"; for Bernard Shaw to confess that Shakespeare was like himself; and for Malone to suppose that Shakespeare had been a lawyer's clerk. Perhaps Professor Schoenbaum's nicest example is rian Liberal. Fripp, who that Shakespeare was among English laymen for ent Liberalism".

Some scholars have been enough not to depict them few have avoided unwar ductions from the plays: ple, that Shakespeare was married because Orsino a rio to choose a woman yo himself. Even Sir Edmund the austere civil servant, *Timon of Athens* that S suffered from a nervous b

Professor Schoenbaum a book which is both le entertaining. His hundred the Baconians and othe provide comic relief, but sion of more orthodox enlivened by intriguing material, anecdote and humour. When T. W. Ba faces his 1,525 pages o speare's schooling with "It may be possible som hence to write a nice litt Shakespeare's education, book would be mere dabble now", Professor S adds: "The austerity of sentence commands awe, untinged with the suspic professor doth underp much." He deflates A. L. describing his biograph triumph of promotion", congratulating Mr. Th printing the boring bit type, he adds: "a prote of emulation, although by dard the entire work sho have appeared in small p

It is possible to quarrel of Professor Schoenbaum sions. If William Gibso serves a mention, there Rubenstein and Bax, C liams and Clemence Dane good; and there is no Longworth-Chambrun's *and Shakespeare* nor of *The Return of William* Perhaps one may conclude final paragraph that Schoenbaum intends to himself. His labours over years will have taught him and warned him of the

he Old and New Testaments in the making

CKROYD and C. F. EVANS
bridge History of The Bible
: From the Beginnings to
mbridge University Press.

ent volume of *The Cambridge History of the Bible* forms a o volume two, which slightly ft in publication. There is a rprising degree of overlap he two volumes; at least of the total number of volume one is occupied with ready dealt with in volume is said, it should be added veral of the apparently s chapters contain some of novel and valuable material. ther that the duplicate sometimes usefully complement another.

ll however accord with nt intention of the work manner of the Cambridge Histories in general) if the present volume is considered as a self-contained unit, Parts one and two are preparatory, dealing with biblical languages and scripts, and with the production of books in antiquity. Parts three and four deal with the process by which the writings of the Old and New Testaments came into being and emerged as a canon of scripture; and part five deals with the treatment and use of the canonical writings in the early church.

The account of the Old and New Testaments "in the making" (as the titles run) brings into view a wide range of new work: freshly discovered material, more intensive study of material previously known, and refinement of critical method. As a whole it establishes a truly remarkable story of advancing knowledge. In the New Testament field the amount of new material is in fact comparatively modest. There are newly discovered manuscripts, some of them appreciably earlier than those previously known; there are still larger numbers of manuscripts previously known but now for the first time adequately appreciated and studied; and good use is made of the intensive work now actively in progress on the early versions and on quotations in patristic writings.

But what will most forcibly strike a reader reasonably familiar with the general direction of textual criticism for the past century is the profound change of approach to the problem: a different principle for assessing manuscripts, a different way of evaluating their readings, and a shift of interest from the attempt to ascertain what the original author may have written to the bearing of textual variations on developments in the church at various periods and localities. Whether or not this new criticism will come to be universally accepted in the uncompromising form presented here, there is no doubt about the fresh interest it has imparted to the subject, and its influence is bound to be permanent. For the rest, the report on New Testament studies shows sober and orderly advance from accepted positions, taking full account of the most recent work, and aware of current fashions in criticism (which may prove transient), but seldom committed to them.

In the Old Testament field the picture is different. Here the amount of new material is overwhelming. Not only have we manuscripts of the Hebrew text (whole or fragmentary) several centuries earlier than any previously known, but also thousands of documents in other Semitic tongues which often unexpectedly illuminate Hebrew language and literature. In addition, the critical exploration of talmudic and similar material is being diligently pursued as never before. The obscurity which has surrounded the pre-history of the Massoretic text is being dispersed, and the formation both of the text itself and of the canon begins to make an intelligible and credible story, though much remains obscure or conjectural. In general, the neat solutions of critical problems which not so long ago were generally accepted, and widely popularized, have gone by the board. Much fresh illumination has come, but with it an array of problems yet unsolved and questions still to be answered.

The reader will find here an immense store of information. Whether or not he will be able to digest it is another matter. He may even conceive a suspicion that the specialists themselves have not yet fully digested the rich fare suddenly thrust upon them. Old Testament studies are clearly in transition. We have a report on work in progress sometimes as exciting as a detective novel.

The remainder of the volume takes the canon of the Old and New Testaments as given, and sets out to study what the early church did with it. In the main it is a history of exegesis and interpretation. A basis has indeed been laid down for this in parts three and four, particularly in the chapters dealing with Bible and Midrash and with the interpretation of the Old Testament in the New. This is carried forward in the first chapter of part five, a general introduction to "Biblical exegesis in the Early Church".

The story is taken up by a series of chapters on outstanding interpreters of the Bible during the first four centuries: Origen, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Jerome (who has a chapter to himself here as well as one in volume two), and Augustine, for long the dictator of biblical interpretation in the West. This method of treating the subject was happily chosen. The confrontation with clearly marked individual leaders of thought gives it force and vividness

The final chapter, on "The Place of the Bible in the Liturgy" is somewhat disappointing. It tends to lose itself in liturgiological detail of limited interest, and hardly succeeds in presenting a clear picture which would justify the author's (undoubtedly true) judgment that "the worship of the early church was thoroughly impregnated with biblical thought and language. Scripture was regarded . . as a living source of inspiration, which never failed to nourish faith, to animate hope, and to make confidence more steadfast.".

Inevitably there are inequalities of level, but as a whole this volume is a distinguished achievement. Its scholarship is sound and up to date. Nowhere else, it is safe to say, will a reader find so comprehensive and informed a treatment of the wide field it covers.

clesiastical iron curtain?

nd State
hurch Information Office.
, 12s.

sions are rarely able to do n express the current con of moderately progressive on their subject. Yet a little ight be expected from one on and state appointed by the of England at this time of veral abortive commissions ady reported in this cen If anything further is to be hould surely reflect a new

ch expectation will be disap by this wan little report of bishops' Commission. We at the new General Synod n Parliament should be the ority on matters of doctrine orship; bishops should be ed by the church, and alterna thods of doing so are pro clergymen should be allowed the House of Commons; the twelve Commission advocate disestablishment. reasonably well-informed could have predicted all the other, conclusions.

inst this, it might be argued matters of this kind, original meritorious than practical proposals are realistic and p in tidying up an obsti nomalous situation. But is ing more to be said about c bond between church and ngland? The Commission at one reason for a change he state is no longer as in church affairs as it once is arguable, but on this it seems clear that the no longer much interested

nificant, for example, that commissioners speculate views of M.P.s, it appar not occur to them that easily have found out. the most accessible and f men, and a high propor m are active churchmen, wo were on the Commis only three others gave t is as though there were rtain between the Palace ster and Church House.

the commissioners ge that the question must t in a wider context, their s concentrated on the he state as it affects the rtainly, their brief was l with the constitutional ut, even so, this could be taken to imply a ty to help to define the function in the light of nderstanding. If the Com tried to do that, it would ve discovered that the state ng, but uninterested in its ns. Nor would the ecessarily have been un illuminating. Many English Christians would maintain that the House of Commons is more impressive as an institution than the Church Assembly, and that our military, civil and educational establishments often do us more credit than our ecclesiastical one. When the term is so loosely and self-righteously bandied about, it is particularly regrettable that the Report should have contented itself with so superficial an analysis of the concept of establishment.

In this country, relations of church and state are not so much a matter of church organization as of a certain understanding of the nature of England and the roots of her common life. As Miss Valerie Pitt demonstrates in her vigorously argued dissenting memorandum, strictly in terms of church order, the Anglican establishment is indefensible. It can only be justified as saying something unique about the English understanding of the state and of society as well as about the church. Any constructive attempt at altering present arrangements would need to re-examine this, not least in relation to the increasingly self-conscious other nations of Britain, whose distinctive problems the Report only too characteristically ignores. When Coleridge and Arnold, Maurice and Gladstone, wrote about establishment in the nineteenth century, they did so with an imaginative range and power not unworthy of the theme. No satisfactory new relation between church and state will be worked out today without fresh thinking of comparable quality.

As an establishment, the modern Church of England seems to have given up trying, in spite of its many evidences of vitality and social concern on other levels. To have disestablishment forced upon it because it was calling for a reformation of manners and morals more radical than the state could tolerate might be a bracing experience for all involved. For it to sue for disestablishment because it no longer feels identified with those who manage the nation's affairs, and because it lacks the heart and imagination to re-define what it means to be both English and Christian, would be to consign itself deservedly to the same obscurity as its counterparts in Wales and Ireland. This Commission does not go so far as to advocate that. What it fails to do is to offer any encouragement to those who still hope that the Church of England might justify its unique place in the community by finding something fresh and liberating to say to the state about what partnership between them could mean in the future.

Christian story-telling

GEORGE EVERY:
Christian Mythology
141pp. Hamlyn. 25s.

Brother Every, a member of the Society of the Sacred Mission at Kelham, is a scholar, a learned ecclesiologist and a poet. These personal facts are worth recording, because otherwise this large-format, handsomely produced and beautifully illustrated book might be casually mistaken for another of the customary offerings which appear in time for Christmas. It is far from being that. In fact it is a scholar's piece, an introduction to what must be to many people an all-too-little known field in the history of European art.

Brother Every, recognizing that story-telling is among the most ancient human activities, has surveyed the wealth of stories which have entertained and illuminated the Christian's progress through the centuries, for Christians, like other people, have always been story-tellers. Believing or only half believing what they told—though if some of their stories were pure fiction most had a basis in fact—they painted, and carved, and sung their stories, and it is much more than a half-truth that the Christian church has been the mother of the arts.

Christianity has come to us in many shapes, but in Brother Every's attractive book we have its legends of saints, of martyrs, of dragons, with which it broke away from its dry-as-dust theological disputation to make use of story-telling to expound the problems of good and evil, of creation and fall, of redemption's triumph and of probings into the mystery of the world to come.

Today Christians seem too often to be afraid of the artists, and artists, perhaps dismayed by the confusion of the modern world, have moved away from the Christian framework into a world of abstractions. Brother Every's book is a study of the past, a past of much glory and great beauty, and it is a past which, where its treasures remain unsold in churches and cathedrals, can still speak to the modern world. But the artists, poets and playwrights, sculptors and painters and musicians, rather timidly aware that they will be often misunderstood and even rejected, are still making their contributions. Perhaps Brother Every, having so skilfully looked at the past, might be tempted in another book to look at our own time.

T·L·S

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Making a success of publishing

MICHAEL S. HOWARD:
Jonathan Cape, Publisher
351pp. Cape. £3 15s.

To those who first became aware of book publishers in the interwar years Jonathan Cape was then the epitome of an enlightened, successful publishing house. The enterprising list of authors, many of them stimulating Americans, a well-bred, contemporary production house-style that owed more to care and imagination than to costliness, and skilful publicity centred on the periodical *Now and Then*—all combined to give to Cape the image, above all sought by a publisher, of having all the best authors and bestsellers. Then came the well-planned, inexpensive "Travellers Library", the still-cheaper, compact "Florin Books" and the elegant "Life and Letters" series. Even the fruit-bowl colophon (irreverently called by Sir Rupert Hart-Davis a "coupe jacques") gave an assurance of quality. In the 1920s and earlier 1930s their only rivals were the old-established Chatto and Windus and the younger, and initially less successful financially, Faber and Faber (at first "and Gwyer").

For Jonathan Cape was the first of the post-1914 generation of new publishers who shook off the dusty, confined tradition of Paternoster-Row publishing, centuries old and finally destroyed only by Nazi bombs in December, 1940. Indeed even Cape's choice of location in January, 1921, led the migration of the publishing world from the shadow of St. Paul's Cathedral to Bloomsbury, now its most populated centre.

Under present conditions the speedy and permanent establishment of Cape seems almost miraculous. It was founded on a capital of £7,000 and assets valued at another £5,000 deriving from a small imprint established by Cape under his mother's family name of Page, which for the first few years continued somewhat surreptitiously to support the new literary house with such un-Bloomsburyian titles as *Patsy in Bohemia* and *The Only Girl in the World*. Since this initial capital, apart from £10,000 invested by an American publisher in 1925 and later repaid, the firm has always been able to finance itself.

The growth of the list was remarkable too. Within eighteen months there were forty titles on the seasonal list and 300 in all. This was largely thanks to Cape's quick appreciation of the importance of the postwar generation of American writers, leading to the "acquisition" of such authors as Sherwood Anderson, Sinclair Lewis, Eugene O'Neill, Hugh Lofting and later, of course, Ernest Hemingway. For, three weeks after he had opened his doors in Gower Street, Cape left for the first of many trips to New York. So his early lists were partly based on American purchases; and by 1922 he had nine U.S. titles on his seasonal list. In reply to criticisms by booksellers, he replied: "There is a new spirit today in America and it is producing literature." Cape was, broadly, the first English publisher to see and take advantage of this.

However, the firm's fortunes were founded on T. E. Lawrence. As Cape's partner and co-founder of the firm, G. Wren Howard, put it shortly before his death in 1968: "Always from the very beginning, Lawrence was the key to our success." Cape, who had started in the book trade in *1895* as a sixteen-year-old errand-boy in Hatchard's bookshop in Piccadilly and then became a traveller first for the London branch of Harper and then for Duckworth, left that firm as manager to serve in the First World War. On his return he joined the Medici Society, where he met Lawrence who was negotiating for the issue of a limited edition of the long out-of-print *Arabia Deserta* of Doughty, with a preface by himself. Cape's first coup was to persuade Medici to agree to joint publication of a nine-guinea limited edition as his initial title, which was issued on January 15, 1921. For Bertie Cape (not the slightly aloof, butler-like Jonathan of latter years), a man of forty-one who had already had twenty years' experience in the book trade, this was apparently an extraordinary start; but a successful one. Cape wrote to a bookseller:

> To start publishing is mad enough, but to publish Doughty at nine guineas as a commencement some people would probably think madder. There is method in it for *Arabia Deserta* even at nine guineas is not a speculation, it is an investment.

For Cape the investment was not in Doughty but in Lawrence, culminating, within three months of the latter's death in 1935, in the sale of 60,000 copies before publication of *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom*.

Although Michael S. Howard's book is a record of the first fifty years of the firm which he, son of the co-founder, joined after the Second World War, it is essentially a biography of Cape himself, whose later life covered almost the first forty years of the firm: and to a lesser extent an account of his father's role in the business. The latter, perhaps owing to the close family relationship, appears as a less clearly defined figure than his partner. Meticulous, military-looking, with a clear mind for the essential details of publishing and a careful eye for the appearance both of a book and of himself, he was the adjutant of the firm and the organizer of commercial success. Less even of a literary man than Cape, he was no cosseter of authors (Ian Fleming he called "a bounder"). But he took part publicspiritedly in the book trade affairs which Cape shunned, and for most of his long publishing life served on the council of the Publishers Association, of which he was president from 1937 to 1939.

Cape, though outwardly aloof and lacking the clubbable character of Howard, was a rarer type of personality, and his success is harder to pin down than that of other highly individualist contemporaries who created their own firms, among them Stanley Unwin, Victor Gollancz and Allen Lane. But like these he was an exceptionally shrewd businessman rather than a literary figure; for that is what most successful publishers are, sometimes to the dismay of their authors. As Dame Veronica Wedgwood said:

> He had a great respect for literature rather than a familiarity and feeling for it. He thought he knew about books, but he knew about them from the point of view of the traveller on the road, not from that of the bookman.

Such a comment might be applied to the other publishers just mentioned, but Cape differed from them in building up a primarily literary general publishing business with all the accompanying, continuing risks. His success in this was largely the result of perceptive recruitment of literary advisers. Before his first book was in the shops he had engaged Edward Garnett, already the doyen of publishers' readers, who was to guide and be the self-styled "literary conscience of the firm" until his death in 1937.

Then came Hamish Miles, who died prematurely in the same year after being designated editor of the *TLS*, Daniel George, an encyclopedic literatus if ever there was one, and William Plomer, poet and short-story writer. These advisers brought in authors (Plomer introduced Cape's best-selling postwar novelist, Ian Fleming) as well as reading manuscripts. This was fortunate, for Cape, in Mr. Howard's words, "seldom managed to inspire a successful book based on an idea of his own". Moreover he refused to compete for authors with his rivals, and his philosophy was summed up as: "All you can do is to publish those [good books] that come your way."

This policy, adequate in the depressed interwar epoch of many small general publishers, became increasingly negative in the much more competitive postwar era. Although the Cape list remained distinguished and successful, Mr. Howard gives an objective account of the editorial run-down of a firm directed by two immensely experienced partners who were beginning to reflect their generation if not their age, but neither of whom was willing to share their prerogatives or their profits.

For earlier on they had disposed of or discouraged various junior directors. Cape was financially ungenerous too. Edward Garnett, in his fifties, was paid only £300 a year in 1922—plus a case of burgundy at Christmas. When the firm made what was then a fortune out of *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, the two seniors paid a directors' bonus of £10,000; out of this Rupert Hart-Davis, who had already introduced several important authors in his first two or three years, was awarded £400. Then when he, the natural successor, proposed to return after the Second World War and suggested a 20 per cent share of the now customary bonus, the proposal was regarded by both Cape and Howard as "extravagantly unacceptable", and an unusually able colleague was lost.

Although he was a former traveller who should have been sympathetic to booksellers' problems, Cape's views on the terms which they might expect for the privilege of selling his books were similar to those of his neighbour in Bloomsbury, Stanley Unwin. When *The Seven Pillars* was published a bookseller had to buy 100 copies of what in those days was an expensive book at 30s., in order to secure more than a 25 per cent discount. Consequently in later years the firm lost a good deal of goodwill in a period when this mattered increasingly. Cape was ruthless, and hard too, when his New York branch, started only a few months before the 1929 American slump, turned out a costly failure. Nor was he particularly generous-minded to his literary advisers, and as Mr. Howard puts it: "He was not inclined to share the responsibility or kudos [...] formance of his firm" [...] neither colleagues, authors [...] sellers; only with women [...] was he more forthcoming [...] ried three times.

Indeed the picture, [...] drawn by his partner's [...] important, imposing [...] fascinating but not en[...] able; but of how many [...] made publishers could [...] be said?

In the end, so far as [...] covered in *Jonathan Cape* [...] is concerned, the firm was [...] after some misfires and [...] ing from the post-mortem [...] Cape's shares, in recruiting [...] young men: Tom Mas[...] Penguin, within a few [...] Cape's death in February [...] two years later Graham [...] son of the Director-General [...] B.B.C. and nephew of [...] They took more or less [...] control after the author's [...] from the chairmanship, [...] eventually devolved on [...] his father. Meanwhile and [...] had been made to unite [...] company with probably [...] most sonious moderate-sized [...] publisher, Chatto and Windus [...] publishing world of group [...] overs and "umbrellas" [...] ing to have a voluntary [...] of two like-minded [...] imprints.

To those concerned pr[...] with books, Mr. Howard's [...] written history will be [...] interest. For, unlike [...] commemorative works, [...] lid at least partially on [...] ures often left obscure. [...] to the prominence of the [...] earlier days, the story is [...] than a record of famous [...] successful books. There is [...] of Lawrence's association [...] firm, the *Mary Webb* saga [...] ended with *Cape marrying* [...] third wife *the second*, wi[...] novelist's widower, and Th[...] *Loneliness* case. After the [...] the Ian Fleming publishing [...] menon, Mr. Howard unde[...] difficulties that constantly [...] general publisher relying [...] books, even with so good [...] as Cape has had, and the [...] of succession in a trade [...] and personal—particularly [...] they arise from family [...] from which, while [...] director, the author [...] stepped aside last year [...] records, "affection, pride [...] found relief".

Two centuries of printing

MICHAEL TWYMAN:
Printing 1770-1970
An illustrated history of its development and uses in England.
283pp. Eyre and Spottiswoode. £7 10s.

On the occasion of their bicentenary last year, Her Majesty's Printers, Eyre and Spottiswoode, have published this book. It contains seven learned and reflective essays by Michael Twyman, who was first to introduce a B.A. course in typography and graphic communication at a British university. This course he runs at Reading, where he found material for nearly 100 of his 880 illustrations. Over 300 more of his illustrations come from the John Johnson Collection at Oxford, and it is greatly to Dr. Twyman's credit that he has in the main chosen to illustrate items which have never before been reproduced.

The quality of the offset printing used for the text and illustrations is markedly uneven and often disappointingly poor. Among the forty-three illustrations in colour, two present a travesty of the famous "Ode to Mercy" originally printed by William Savage from twenty-nine separate wood blocks. Many of the illustrations appear in considerably reduced form, but their original dimensions are scrupulously given in the captions. And the 343 illustrations to the author's essays have been carefully positioned close to the references made to them in the text.

Dr. Twyman has set himself the task of writing a concise history primarily intended for the layman interested in printing, and for the student of typography and typographic design who might need such a work. He modestly regards his work as a starting-point which will serve its purpose only if the select bibliography at the end is well used, and if in due time some of its gaps are closed.

His opening essay on "the information explosion" provides a brief background of economic history. In his next two essays on new processes, and on printing in colour, he covers the ground with a thoroughness which is all the more remarkable because it is done so succinctly and with such clarity. An excellent choice of illustrations illuminate "From craft to technology" and "Types and other letterforms". There follows his longest essay "Pictures into print", which covers an enormous range of work: topographical prints, reproductions of paintings, cartoons, scientific illustration, book and newspaper illustration, posters, postcards and advertising.

In the final essay entitled "Design: survivals and new approaches", he notes that the strength of book tradition among printers was one of the reasons for the sterility of design in many other areas of printing during the later nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries. Dr. Twyman is evidently torn between an irritation with meaningless book conventions (such as the use of large initial letters continued from times when books were written by hand) and a respect for practices which recent research has tended to confirm, and which printers in the past have determined pragmatically. "There can be little to challenge in such customs", he writes, and adds: "indeed, contemporary typographers might well learn something from them."

When he later acknowledges the major contributions made to printing by Charles Whittingham and William Morris in the nineteenth century, and by Sir Francis Meynell and Stanley Morison in the twentieth century, he remarks that "they do not appear to have questioned the centuries-old conventions of book design—or, if they did question them, they must have decided that they were worth preserving". In fact both Meynell and Morison wrote books and articles in which they vigorously questioned many of the traditions of book design. But whereas this questioning led Meynell to make a wide variety of experiments, and to reinterpret a number of earlier styles, it led Morison to enunciate principles with so strong a power of argument that it brought about a greater uniformity of approach to the design of books.

Dr. Twyman observes: "Reading is one of the most conventional of human activities and . . . the printed word is the surest and most effective means of communication, particularly from one generation to another." It follows that radical changes in reading conventions would inevitably make the printed word a less sure and effective means of communication between generations. Nevertheless, Dr. Twyman quite rightly claims that

> if radical changes are ever to be made in our letterforms and the conventions we adopt for organising them, no greater opportunity is likely to arise than in this present period of transition from mechanisation to automation.

And if such radical changes are to be made, those who assume such responsibilities will do well to study the first part of Dr. Twyman's work, and the selection of books listed in his bibliography.

The second part of his [...] rich assembly of 537 [...] grouped under five main [...] ceremony, rural life, trans[...] and exhibitions. This array [...] in conveying something of [...] of printing produced betw[...] and 1970 and also shows [...] new kinds of problems [...] designers and printers had [...] Among such things as [...] forms, catalogues and pic[...] ters, Dr. Twyman has int[...] modern parallels of earl[...] and has given preference [...] intrinsic historical interest [...] selection of illustrations [...] massive savoury with which [...] off Dr. Twyman's rich mea[...]

This year's Sandars [...] Cambridge will be given [...] J. S. L. Gilmour, Dir[...] University Botanic Gar[...] the Rationalist Press Ass[...] "Some Freethinkers [...] Writings" in the Mill La[...] Rooms at 5 p.m. on F[...] and 23.

This year's Lyell [...] Oxford will be given by [...] Professor of the History [...] Vienna University, on "[...] Drawing within the Realm [...] val Illumination" in the [...] Building at 5 p.m. on [...] 17, 19 and 21.

[B]ooks [Re]ceived

[...]on

[...]REX. *Flying Saucer View*[...] 115pp. Pelham Books. 30s.

[...]er has no doubt about the flying saucers or about the [...]t intentions of their occu[...] some of whom take on the earth beings and live among [...]hile. Nor has he any doubt [...]e malignant conspiracy to [...] or vilify these advanced [...] who have abnormal forces [...]service and can change or [...]e matter at will. The scep[...] not be able to disprove all [...]'s claims but they will cer[...]ute many of the deductions

[...]phy

[...], EDWARD. *Edward Car[penter] 1844-1929*. 31pp. Dr. Wil[liams's] Trust, 14 Gordon Square, [...] W.1. 5s.

[...] centenary, in 1944, of [...] Carpenter's birth he was the [...] a long article in the *TLS*, [...] namesake notes in this [...] the Friends of Dr. Wil[liams's] Library, that idealistic social[...] poet is almost forgotten now. [...] never gain a permanent [...] English literature", con[...] Mr. Carpenter, who has small [...] his poetry, but he still finds [...] interest in some of the prose [...] on social and political

[...]FRANK. *Philip Magnus: [...] Educational Pioneer.* [...] Vallentine, Mitchell. £2 10s.

[...] Victorian Worthy"—inevit[able] phrase comes to mind in [...] with *Philip Magnus*. [...] certainly was, an estim[able] [...] figure whose career is [...] more important than his [...]. Perhaps Mr. Foden is [...]eet; occasionally he gives a [...] *no more than a hint, that* [...]ions Magnus could be a little [...]mirable, and considerably [...]resting, than he appears in [...]es.

[...] by any standard, Magnus's [...]nts were considerable. He [...]al creator of the City and [...]stitute, with its famous [...]ch system; he was acknow[ledged to] be the greatest English [...] on the subject of technical [...]; he also had much to do [...] growth and development of [...] University. All this takes on [...] interest when seen against [...]al background—he was a [...]h race and religion. For [...]ears he served as minister [...] London Synagogue; in [...] made history by becoming [...] minister of the Jewish religion ever to take his seat in the House of Commons. This Jewish element which gives to his career its peculiar flavour and interest was something of vital importance to Magnus himself:

> Although in some sense his leaving the ministry represents a defection from the strictly religious calling, he remained throughout his career completely Jewish in faith, thought and feeling. He became, and always wished to be thought, an English gentleman, but not at the price of his Jewish loyalties and affiliations.

Calligraphy

RAWLINS, RAY. *Four Hundred Years of British Autographs.* 188pp. Dent. £3 10s.

From his own very large collection of autographs the author has here selected for reproduction some hundreds of signatures of the famous, extending in time from the reign of Elizabeth I to that of the present Queen. The facsimiles, classified in groups (sovereigns, statesmen, men of letters and so on), are identified in brief footnotes with an occasional comment on the rarity or peculiarity of the signature. Mr. Rawlins's fellow collectors will have here a valuable book of reference as well as an interesting preliminary essay on their hobby in all its aspects.

Education

ANDERSON, HUGH; HIPKIN, JOHN; and PLASKOW, MAURICE. *Education for the Seventies.* 134pp. Heinemann Educational. 35s. (paperback, 15s.).

It was right to publish this summary of a Cambridge Union teach-in on education held in October, 1969, even if the written style of the result is appalling, being a mixture of "indirect speech" as taught to provincial reporters twenty years ago and direct quotations of the more trendy and trenchant parts. A symposium containing Boyle, Butler, Clegg, Dancy, Duane, Lambert, Plowden, Ree, Vaizey, two Williams, to mention not all, cannot be without some lasting interest in spite of the change in the political background since they spoke. The teach-in, devised when the late Hugh Anderson was president of the union, must have helped to clarify quite a few minds, not least those of the participants, and it provides in this form useful nutshell accounts of what, for instance, Dr. Royston Lambert really thinks about boarding schools.

THOMPSON, BRENDA. *Learning to Read.* 128pp. Sidgwick and Jackson. 30s.

The great merit of Brenda Thompson's guide to a thorny thicket through which all children must pass is that it is not dogmatic. Although she does not hesitate to recommend by name those reading schemes or parts of schemes she prefers, she reserves most of her considerable spleen for the bigoted champions of exclusive learning methods which falsely offer an open sesame to what is nearly always a gradual and eclectic process. Much of what she says is sound sense and she is unanswerable when she puts the challenge that the books children use in school should be as interesting to them as anything they encounter.

History

Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers. Edited by F. J. Routledge. Volume V: 1660-1726, with Index to Volumes IV and V. 942pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. £12.

The task of calendaring Clarendon's papers in the Bodleian Library is completed with this volume, which includes a full index to the present volume and the previous one. Here also are a number of undated documents not included earlier, but the bulk of the volume consists of Clarendon's correspondence as Lord Chancellor and chief minister, in the years of his power after the Restoration. Relations with Holland and Irish affairs predominate, but among the diplomatic exchanges there is a sprinkling of letters reflecting the minister's private interests, such as the improvement of his home at Cornbury and the planting of trees in its park. Mr. Routledge provides an historical introduction to the papers, which range in date from 1660 to 1726. As he died before the *Calendar* was quite ready for press, the final editing and checking have been done by Mrs. Mary Clapinson and Mr. D. G. Vaisey.

GALBRAITH, V. H. *Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris.* 48pp. University of Glasgow. 8s.

This study of the medieval "school of history" at St. Albans Abbey and of its two most outstanding historians, Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris, was published on its delivery to a Glasgow academic audience in 1944, and has now been reprinted.

GOLDBERG, GEORGE. *The Peace to End Peace.* 221pp. Pitman. 25s.

This is a good example of instant history, and the title is good enough, as such titles go. The familiar history of that Paris peace conference of 1919—French arrogance and intransigence, German humiliation, ineffective Wilsonian idealism, Lloyd George's too clever manoeuvres—is retold briskly and competently, in a style designed to appeal to those who have not heard it before. The proper ration of good stories is provided. Some are true; some have a grain of truth in them; some belong to the category of ben trovato. But even the critical reader may find it hard to discriminate. More emphasis is placed on the failures and absurdities of the conference than on its solid achievements. It seems a little perverse to call it, rather than the war which preceded it, "the great tragedy of modern times". The historian who wishes to delve into the causes and consequences of what happened at Paris in 1919 at anything below the level of historical anecdote will find nothing to his purpose in this book. But it would be foolish to criticize it for lacking qualities to which it does not aspire.

Music

MORLEY, ALEXANDER F. *The Harrap Opera Guide.* 318pp. Harrap. £2 2s.

Here is a new and slimmer Kobbé, in which the facts are stated and the plots related of eighty-eight operas to be found in the current repertory, not of any one opera-house but in the experience of so assiduous an opera-goer as Sir Alexander Morley, who has pursued music concurrently with diplomacy. The entries are arranged in alphabetical order, as in a dictionary, beginning with *Aida* and ending with *Wozzeck*. Under each heading the category, authorship and date are stated in italics; cast, voice, scene and time follow. The author then provides a critical paragraph, placing and appraising the opera with indications of such musical features as are important for its comprehension, and then in roman type sets out the plot act by act.

Synopses of operas are a form of literature only one degree less intractable than musical analyses. In this respect Sir Alexander achieves a new standard of clarity and intelligibility in reasonably succinct prose aided by a few more musical signposts. Similarly admirable are the critical and historical prefaces, especially to operas such as Monteverdi's *Poppea*, Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov* and Berg's *Lulu*, which need some sort of critical apparatus. And his remarks about Tchaikovsky's *Eugene Onegin* show his insight: that it is in some respects a remote ancestor of Strauss's *Arabella*, and that "the unforced charm of the music is poles away from the rhetoric of the symphonies and concerts". Of *Tosca*, "that shabby little shocker" according to another commentator, he says that its popularity should not blind one to its great merits. Thus, though its primary function as a work of reference is splendidly fulfilled at a modest price, the *Guide* yields many such felicitous and supererogatory pleasures at a turn of the page.

Natural History

GRAHAM-JONES, OLIVER. *First Catch Your Tiger.* 222pp. Collins. 36s.

Oliver Graham-Jones can draw on a fund of unusual zoo stories for during his time with the Zoological Society of London he was responsible for the health of one of the largest collections of living creatures ever assembled in one place. As veterinary officer, his problems ranged from replacing the beak of a male toucan or repairing the leg of a llama to those requiring no small degree of courage where the larger mammals were involved. Escaping down a narrow tunnel from a sick and enraged elephant, he met the probing trunk of its equally hysterical partner in the adjacent quarters. The effects of a new sedative tried out on a gorilla wore off unexpectedly and the author found himself desperately sparring with a broomstick.

It is through these stories that the point is made. The London Zoo, which is among the top zoos of the world, had no full-time residential vet until Mr. Graham-Jones arrived in 1951. He began with primitive equipment and facilities and very little published data on such important topics as the correct dosage to sedate or anaesthetize such a vast range of wild animals. Of necessity, much of his work had to be empirical but the body of information that he built up has certainly enriched veterinary science. He pioneered new techniques and tested drugs on creatures not anticipated by the manufacturers. He was instrumental in founding the Animal Hospital and thus of bringing the London Zoo, a little belatedly perhaps, into the modern era. Like many thoughtful zoo-men, the author finally discusses the role of the zoo, with a hint that the days of the independent zoo are coming to a close.

Numismatics

PEDRICK, GALE, and STROUD, JEAN. *Honest Penny.* 206pp. Pelham Books. £2.

A valediction to the oldest English coin, so soon to disappear from circulation. Begun by the late Gale Pedrick, and after his death completed by Miss Jean Stroud, the book is both a history of the penny from Saxon times onwards and a gathering of lore and anecdotes to illustrate its place in social life during the past thousand years.

Travel and Topography

VEREY, DAVID. *Gloucestershire.* A Shell Guide. 136pp. Faber and Faber. 30s.

The prewar Shell Guide to Gloucestershire, revised in 1952, has now been completely rewritten, with a new introduction by David Verey, Professor Pevsner's collaborator for *Gloucestershire* in the "Buildings of England" series. William Morris thought Bibury the most beautiful village in England; since then the Cotswold villages and wool churches have become almost too well-known. Mr. Verey pays equal attention to the more neglected and thus more vulnerable villages and mills of the Stroud valley, and to the Forest of Dean, the Spanish Armada's "first military objective". There is a special section on Bristol and Clifton and several pages on Cheltenham. The original gazetteer has been expanded and includes works by more nineteenth and twentieth-century craftsmen: Street at Toddington, S. S. Teulon at Tortworth, Ernest Gimson and the Sapperton set, C. R. Ashbee and F. L. Griggs at Chipping Campden. The guide is embellished by a range of entirely new photographs of Gloucestershire towns and landscape.

The Economics of Socialism by J. Wilczynski, published by Allen and Unwin and reviewed on December 25, is also available in paperback at 30s.

POSTAL DISPUTE

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AYR PUBLIC LIBRARY
Have you a flair for dealing with children and young people? Would you like to live and work in a pleasant coastal town with excellent sporting and cultural activities? We are looking for a CHARTERED LIBRARIAN to develop this side of an expanding municipal library service. This is a new professional appointment with considerable scope for a person of initiative and enterprise. Salary: Librarian's Grade £1,413 to £1,776. Further particulars from the Burgh Librarian, Public Library, 12 Main Street, Ayr (phone 0292 64505), to whom applications should be submitted not later than 22nd February, 1971.

CHRIST'S COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
Woolton Road, Liverpool, L16 8ND
Qualified ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN Part-time APT II Pro Rata.
Further particulars from Principal at above address.

VACANT APPOINTMENTS AND PUBLIC NOTICES &c

ROYAL COUNTY OF BERKSHIRE
BERKSHIRE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN required for College Library. Salary within the range £1,038 to £1,515 per annum (minimum commencing salary for Chartered Librarian £1,413 per annum).
Application forms together with further particulars obtainable from the Senior Administrative Officer, Berkshire College of Education, Bulmershe Court, Woodlands Avenue, Earley, Reading, to be returned within 10 days.

BOURNEMOUTH COLLEGE OF TECHNOLOGY
COLLEGE LIBRARY
ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN—required as soon as possible. Applicants should have sound library experience and a keen interest in the role of the Library in further education.
Salary: Trainee Grade, £489 to £1,317 according to age and qualifications (minimum qualifications—2 "A" levels); minimum salary for applicants having passed L.A. Part I Examination, £912 if under 21; £993 if over 21). Basic 5-day week.
Further details and application form from the Principal, College of Technology, The Lansdowne, Bournemouth (Tel.: Bournemouth 20441).

CAMBRIDGE
HOMERTON COLLEGE
LIBRARY ASSISTANT required for general duties in the College Library. Salary within N.J.C. Clerical Grade I (£618-£1,131).
Apply in writing to the Librarian for further particulars.

COUNTY OF CORNWALL
CORNWALL COUNTY LIBRARY
REGIONAL LIBRARIANS
based at Newquay and Liskeard. Salary A.P.4, £1,776 to £2,025. Chartered Librarians required for these TWO POSTS.
Full removal expenses and a separation allowance will be paid in approved cases. Housing accommodation may also be provided.
Further details and application forms may be obtained from the County Librarian, County Hall, Truro, Cornwall. Applications should be returned not later than the 8th February, 1971.
A. L. DENNIS, Clerk of the County Council, County Hall, Truro, January, 1971.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL
COUNTY LIBRARY
BRANCH LIBRARIAN, WINCHCOMBE
A.P. I(II)
(£1,272-£1,776)
For A.P. III candidates must be Chartered Librarians. For A.P. II Final Examination or equivalent required. Assistance with removal expenses. Medical.
Applications naming two referees to County Librarian, Shire Hall, Quayside Wing, Gloucester, GL1 2HY, from whom further particulars available. Canvassing disqualifies.

LONDON BOROUGH OF HACKNEY
LIBRARY SERVICES
ASSISTANT BRANCH LIBRARIAN
Applicants must be suitably qualified and experienced persons for this post.
Salary A.P.3, £1,605-£1,860 inclusive.
Forms of application from Town Clerk, Town Hall, Mare Street, E.8. Closing date 8th February, 1971.

COUNTY BOROUGH OF HALIFAX
PUBLIC LIBRARIES
APPLICATIONS are invited for the POST of BRANCH LIBRARIAN.
Salary AP Grade I (£1,038 to £1,272 per annum). Preference will be given to candidates who have at least Part I examination of the Library Association and appropriate experience.
Applications with relevant details and the names of two referees to reach the Chief Librarian, Central Library, Lister Lane, Halifax, by 28th January.

ISLE OF WIGHT
COUNTY LIBRARY
CHILDREN'S LIBRARIAN
A.P. 3-4 (£1,515 to £2,025)
The successful candidate will be required to provide a service to both schools and branch libraries but will also have opportunities to extend the service further. High standards of book selection and pleasant working conditions in a holiday island.
Application forms and further details available from the Clerk of the County Council, County Hall, Newport, Isle of Wight. Closing date 5th February, 1971.

SIR EVELYN WRENCH TRAVELLING FELLOWSHIP FOR LIBRARIANS, 1971
LIBRARIANS
Fully qualified (A.L.A.) between 25-35 with five years' service are invited to apply for an autumn 1971 professional and travelling fellowship in the United States. It covers transatlantic and internal travelling, and all incidental expenses, within an upper limit of £350.
Further details and application forms from: The Librarian, English-Speaking Union, 37 Charles Street, London W1X 8AB. Closing date, February 5th.

LEEDS POLYTECHNIC
DEPARTMENT OF LIBRARIANSHIP
APPLICATIONS are invited from suitably qualified librarians for the POST of SENIOR LECTURER. The specific teaching programme to be offered is flexible within certain limits.
Salary: £2,537-£2,872.
Further particulars and application forms are available from the Academic Officer, Leeds Polytechnic, Calverley Street, Leeds LS1 3HE (quoting ref. 21(4)) to whom completed applications should be submitted by 8th February, 1971.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER
ASSISTANT LIBRARIANS
APPLICATIONS invited for POSTS in the University Library. Salary range p.a.: £1,491 to £1,902 F.S.S.U. Good honours degree essential; research experience and/or library qualifications additional recommendations.
Particulars and application forms (returnable by February 12th) from the Registrar, The University, Manchester M13 9PL. Quote ref: 12/71 T.L.S.

NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY
APPLICATIONS are invited for POSTS of LIBRARY CLERK. Duties may be either those of junior library assistant or of clerical assistant; for the latter some typing ability is desirable. Previous library experience would be an advantage, but is not essential. Salary scale £540 to £1,128: starting point according to age and educational qualifications. No Saturday or evening work.
Apply to the Librarian, National Central Library, Store Street, London, WC1E 7DG, by Monday, 1st February.

VACANT APPOINTMENTS AND PUBLIC NOTICES &c

Librarians

LONDON BOROUGH OF ISLINGTON

LIBRARIES DEPARTMENT
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LIBRARIAN
(£2,184-£2,751, with responsibility bar at £2,556, plus London weighting)
Applicants must be Chartered Librarians with considerable Public Library experience, capable of organizing and administering a large department which is responsible for purchasing, processing and classifying over 50,000 books and other items each year and maintaining all appropriate records.
Forms of application are available from the Chief Librarian, Central Library, Holloway Road, London, N7 6JN, to whom they must be returned by the 12th February, 1971.

LANCASHIRE

EDUCATION COMMITTEE
EDGE HILL COLLEGE OF EDUCATION, ORMSKIRK
TUTOR-LIBRARIAN
(Re-advertisement)
Required for 1st April or 1st May, 1971, a Second TUTOR-LIBRARIAN for this expanding College Library which is due to move into a new purpose built building in 1972.
Salary: Pelham Lecturer Scale £1,690-£2,125.
Application forms and further particulars can be obtained from the Principal, Edge Hill College of Education, Ormskirk, Lancashire. Completed applications should be returned by Friday, 12th February, 1971.

CITY OF LEICESTER

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
Readvertisement
DEPUTY LIBRARIAN required from 1 March or as soon as possible thereafter. Chartered librarian essential, with qualifications and experience in cataloguing and classification. Special interest and experience in children's work desirable, and Bibliography of Education paper and/or experience in an education library an advantage. Salary on Librarian scale, £1,413-£1,776 per annum, commencing salary according to qualifications and experience.
Further particulars from Librarian/Tutor, College of Education, Scraptoft, Leicester, LE7 9SU, to whom applications (no forms) should be submitted by 5 February.

THE BRITISH COUNCIL

LIBYA
THE UNIVERSITY OF LIBYA
TRIPOLI
requires a LIBRARIAN for the FACULTY of SCIENCE as soon as possible. Candidates should have a degree, preferably in science, from a university in Britain, a postgraduate diploma, experience of library work, preferably in an institution of further education and experience in the classification of scientific books would be an advantage.
Salary: L£2,400 per annum (Libyan £1 = £1.167 sterling). Accommodation allowance. Children's allowance. Medical scheme. Employer's superannuation contribution paid. Fare and baggage allowance for those appointed and families. U.K. leave paid if contract renewed. Two-year contract, renewable, guaranteed by the British Council.
Write quoting reference number 70/PU/ Lib to Appointments Division, The British Council, 65 Davies Street, London, W1Y 2AA, for further particulars and application form to be returned completed as soon as possible.

PORTSMOUTH POLYTECHNIC

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN
APPLICATIONS are invited for a POST in the Polytechnic Library. Candidates should have some knowledge of the literature of the social sciences.
Commencing salary within the scale: £1,038-£1,776 p.a.
Application forms which are obtainable from the Staff Officer, Ravelin House, Alexandra Road, Portsmouth, PO1 2QQ (please quote Post no. 399), should be returned as soon as possible.

RHYL URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL

PUBLIC LIBRARY
SENIOR ASSISTANT
APPLICATIONS are invited from Qualified Librarians for this POST within the qualified establishment of the Library, comprising the Librarian, Chief Assistant, and two Senior Assistants.
The salary will be in accordance with the Librarian Grade, with bar applied, ranging from £1,038 to £1,315 per annum. The minimum salary payable to a qualified Librarian will be £1,317 per annum. The successful applicant will be required to assist in all aspects of the administration and development of the library service but ability to drive and operate a small mobile library and an interest in the development of cultural activities would be an advantage.
Applications together with the names and addresses of two referees to be received by the undersigned by not later than first post on 23rd January, 1971. Canvassing will disqualify and applicants must state whether to their knowledge they are related to any member or senior officer of the Council.
R. J. KEITH DAVIES, Clerk of the Council.
Council Offices, Clwyd Street, Rhyl.

WEST RIDING COUNTY LIBRARY

LIBRARIAN
PENISTONE (near Sheffield) MOBILE BRANCH LIBRARY
Salary: Librarian Scale: Minimum £1,413 for Chartered Librarians.
For further details and form of application please apply to the County Librarian, County Library Headquarters, Balne Lane, Wakefield, Yorkshire.

WEST SUFFOLK COUNTY COUNCIL

COUNTY LIBRARY
A SENIOR ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN is required in the Book Services Department at Headquarters. This appointment will be suitable for those wishing to obtain County Library experience who have recently completed a Library School course. The salary will be within the Librarians Scale according to qualifications.
Further particulars may be obtained from the County Librarian, County Library, Shire Hall, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk. Tel 2281 Ext 151. Please quote Reference TLS 4.

WEST SUSSEX COUNTY LIBRARY
LENDING SERVICES
CHICHESTER REGION

LIBRARIAN IN CHARGE
Applicants should be Chartered Librarians with suitable experience, of work in a modern library with a computerized book issue system. There are two new branch libraries and a third scheduled for building next year. Chichester is a good centre for sea and country with a Festival Theatre. Salary on the County Council's Librarians Professional Career Grade (£1,776 to £2,025 per annum).
Application forms and further details from the County Librarian, Tower Street, Chichester, to be returned by 30th January, 1971.

WEST SUSSEX COUNTY COUNCIL

WEST SUSSEX RECORD OFFICE
ASSISTANT ARCHIVIST
A.P. 2/3 (£1,272-£1,776)
Applicants should be graduates who hold (or are studying for) a Diploma in Archive Administration, or who have had experience of record office work. A good knowledge of Latin, or medieval history, preferably to degree level, is essential for this post.
Further details of the post may be obtained from the County Archivist, and completed applications, with the names of two referees, should be sent to the Clerk of the Council, County Hall, Chichester, by 15 February.

CLERICAL OFFICER-LIBRARY ASSISTANT

required for Information Service. Duties include compilation of card indexes, correspondence with publishers, etc. Some typing necessary. Salary in scale £8 11s. to £19 1s. per week. Starting point according to age and experience. Provision for superannuation.
Application, with names and addresses of two referees, should be made in writing to the Secretary, Commonwealth Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Dartington House, Little Clarendon Street, Oxford OX1 2HH, by 29th January, 1971.

PUBLIC HEALTH LABORATORY SERVICE

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN
Required. Preference given to GRADUATE with library qualifications, medical or scientific library experience and knowledge of languages.
Salary within the scale £1,482 to £1,939 plus £90 London weighting.
Applications, with names and addresses of two referees to Personnel Officer, Central Public Health Laboratory, Colindale Avenue, London NW9 5HT.

COUNTY COUNCIL OF THE COUNTY OF STIRLING
COUNTY LIBRARY

Applications are invited for the post of Classifier and Cataloguer in Accessions Department of the County Library, Spittal Street, Stirling. Applications from part-qualified Librarians will be considered.
Salary — Chartered Librarians £1,413 to £1,776; Part-qualified Librarians £993 to £1,317.
J.N.I.C. Conditions of Service with medical examination for Superannuation purposes.
Applications, quoting Ref. L.99/TLS, with names of two referees should be submitted to the County Librarian, Education Offices, Spittal Street, Stirling, 14 days from the appearance of this advertisement.
JAMES D. KENNEDY, County Clerk.
County Offices,
Viewforth,
STIRLING.

ROYAL COUNTY OF BERKSHIRE

Applications are invited for appointment of Deputy Branch Librarian, Windsor. Salary within the Special Scale for Librarians (£1,038 to £1,776). Applications to the County Librarian, Abbey Mill House, Abbey Square, Reading. Closing date the 1st February, 1971.

A London Librarian writes:

"I had an excellent response and this situation is now filled. The replies both by telephone and post were not only numerous but paid tribute to the range and diversity of your readership."

Proof of the pulling power of the Advertisement Columns of The Times Literary Supplement. Are you using them too? The rates are 7/- a line or £5.50 for a single column inch and pro rata.

For further particulars, please apply to:
Rachel Grenfell, T.L.S., Printing House Square, London, E.C.4, 01-236 2000, ext. 280.

The Edinburgh College of Art
ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

Applications are invited for the post of Assistant Librarian. Candidates must have some library experience and hold either a degree or qualification in Librarianship. As a College Library service provides for students studying Art, Architecture and Town Planning, an interest in any of these subjects or in Social Science would be an advantage. The initial and maximum salary will be within a scale £1,345 to £2,220 and will depend on the qualifications and experience of the successful candidate.

Applications stating past experience, qualifications, and age, should be submitted together with two recent testimonials or the names of two referees to:

The Secretary and Treasurer,
Edinburgh College of Art,
Lauriston Place, Edinburgh, EH3 9DF,
not later than 29th January, 1971.

MORAY HOUSE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
DEPUTY LIBRARIAN

Applications are invited for this new post from candidates who preferably should be professionally qualified graduates. Fellows of the Library Association with appropriate academic library experience will also be considered.

The successful applicant will be expected to assist the Principal Librarian in the planning of an extensive new multi-media Library and Resource Centre. A special interest in the use of audio-visual media in libraries is therefore desirable. The present Library serves populations of over 2,500 students and 200 staff.

The salary will be one of the following scales according to qualifications held. Placing on the appropriate scale will depend on present salary:
(a) £2,283 by £93 to £2,376 by £96 to £3,240 (Honours graduate).
(b) £2,013 by £84 to £2,853 (Ordinary graduate or equivalent).

Transfer of FSSU policies may be considered where appropriate.
Further information and application forms returnable by 9th February, 1971, may be obtained from the College Secretary, Moray House College of Education, Holyrood Road, Edinburgh EH8 8AQ.

SHIPLEY URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL
ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

Applications are invited from chartered librarians for this new post within the librarian's scale and the successful applicant will specialize in cataloguing and children's work.
The town (population 29,000) has been extensively redeveloped post-war and is pleasantly situated on the northern edge of the West Riding industrial area with the Yorkshire Dales National Park on the doorstep. There is a main library (children's and reference sections recently modernized) and two branches: a token system of charging is in use. Plans for a new central library are in the course of preparation.
Housing available, if required, and half cost of approved removal expenses paid. Applications naming two referees to the Clerk and Solicitor, Town Hall, Shipley, Yorkshire, BD18 3EJ, by 3 February.

UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN
Trinity College

LEVERHULME VISITING FELLOWSHIP

Applications are invited for the above Fellowship tenable at Trinity College, Dublin, for the academic year 1971-72.

The value of the Fellowship is £1,400 plus £300 per annum for a married Fellow accompanied by his wife. A travel allowance of up to £250 is made.

There is no restriction on the field of study and persons holding a Doctorate of any Commonwealth, South African or United States University who wish to apply should write directly, with full details of their career to date, to the

Assistant Secretary (Staff), Trinity College, Dublin, 2.

Closing date for the receipt of formal applications is 1 March, 1971.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER
LECTURERS IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Applications invited for two posts from persons whose main interest is in any period of English Literature after 1550. Salary scale £1,491-£3,417, with initial appointment at not more than £1,902 per annum. F.S.S.U. Particulars and application forms (returnable by February 8th) from the Registrar, The University, Manchester, M13 9PL. Quote ref.: 4/71/TLS.

SHROPSHIRE COUNTY LIBRARY

A vacancy exists on a District Centre staff in Telford New Town for a branch

LIBRARIAN

for Sutton Hill neighbourhood. Housing to rent available.
Librarian's Grade (no bar). Details from the County Librarian, County Library Headquarters, Column House, 7 London Road, Shrewsbury, Shropshire, SY2 6NW.

HOWES BOOKSHOP
3 Trinity Street
HASTINGS

Vacancy for person aged approx. 18 to 28. Howes maintains a 100,000-volume stock of old, rare and modern books, and supplies universities, institutions, scholars and collectors all over the world. It is a long established firm but with a progressive policy and rewarding to join. Present appointment involves general shop duties, some new book ordering, stock supervision and assisting with compilation of Howes scholarly catalogues. An excellent progressive opportunity for energetic person, keen on the trade. As he advances he will be encouraged to develop his own interests, take initiatives and assume responsibilities. Write with details of education, interests, qualifications and experience, if any—salary will be commensurate with these.

BRITISH LIBRARY OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SCIENCE

(London School of Economics)
Applications are invited for two posts of ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN. Candidates should have good academic qualifications and a knowledge of modern languages. Library experience or training will be an additional recommendation. For one of these posts qualifications appropriate to a special responsibility for the LATIN AMERICAN collections are sought.
Initial salary within the scale £1,491-£3,417 per annum, plus £100 London allowance. F.S.S.U.
Further particulars may be obtained from the Librarian, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE, by whom applications, accompanied by a curriculum vitae and the names of not more than three referees, must be received not later than 1st February, 1971.

LONDON BOROUGH OF SUTTON
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—LIBRARIES DIVISION

SENIOR ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

SPECIAL GRADE (LIBRARIANS) £1,128-£1,866 per annum inclusive of London Weighting.
Applicants must hold at least Part I of the Library Association Examination. Point of entry to the scale dependent upon qualifications and experience. This post is interchangeable with others of the same grading, but the successful applicant will be allocated initially to assisting the Mobile and [illegible] Librarian.
Details and application forms (returnable within 14 days of the first appearance of this advertisement) from Roy Smith, F.L.A., Borough Librarian, Central Library, Manor Park Road, Sutton, Surrey.

T. M. H. SCOTT,
Principal Chief Officer.

CITY OF CARDIFF

DEPUTY CITY LIBRARIAN

Salary Scale PO.I (I) £2,556-£2,949 per annum

Applications are invited for the above-mentioned post from Chartered Librarians with wide administrative and [illegible] experience at a senior level in the libraries service.

The City Council has decided to build a new Central Library as part of the comprehensive plan for the redevelopment of the Central Area. The new building to be completed by 1975 is to comprise about 100,000 sq. ft. of accommodation and attention is now being given to its design and layout. Further particulars and application forms, returnable by 12th February, 1971, are obtainable from the Establishment Officer, City Hall, Cardiff CF1 3ND.

LIBRARY ASSISTANT

Salary rising to £1,109

The Library, with a staff of nine, is concerned with the commercial and administrative aspects of electricity supply.

The person appointed (one of four assistants) will provide support to senior assistants in internal and inter-library loans, periodical circulation, enquiry desk duty, catalogue [illegible], shelving of library material, distribution of information [illegible], purchase of publications.

The post suits either (a) a young person with relevant educational qualifications aiming at a Library School course and eventual professional qualification, or (b) a person interested and able to deal with office routines and keep accurate records.

Write giving full personal and career details and quoting TLS/4/71 by 1st February to:
Howard Bussey, Personnel Officer.

the electricity council 30 Millbank, London, S.W.1.

TEESSIDE POLYTECHNIC

Applications are invited for the new post of
CHIEF LIBRARIAN OF THE POLYTECHNIC

Salary: £3,142 × £85—£3,482 per annum

The person appointed will be responsible for the development and control of all library services within the Polytechnic, and will be a member of the Academic Board. Candidates should have substantial professional experience appropriate to the work of a polytechnic.

Further particulars and application forms from Senior Administrative Officer (Dept. [illegible]), Teesside Polytechnic, Middlesbrough, [illegible], returnable within a fortnight.

INTERNATIONAL WOOL SECRETARIAT

Technical Centre Library—Ilkley

Applications are invited for the post of

SENIOR ASSISTANT

in a Library providing information services to [illegible] and Technologists engaged in Research and Development work on Wool Textiles at Ilkley and to staff [illegible] throughout the world.
Applicants for the post should have suitable qualifications or experience in Librarianship or Textiles. Knowledge of foreign languages would be an added qualification.

Attractive working conditions and a five-day week are offered.
Applications should be sent to:
The Establishment Officer
INTERNATIONAL WOOL SECRETARIAT
Technical Centre, Valley Drive, [illegible]

CHIEF LIBRARIAN

COMMONWEALTH of AUSTRALIA

[A] public lending and reference library service operated [by] the Northern Territory Administration, Darwin, [pro]vides library facilities to both town and country [resi]dents. An experienced librarian is being sought [to d]evelop this service in the Territory's current phase [of u]nprecedented development.
[He] will be responsible for providing professional ad[vice] to Northern Territory Administration in the de[velop]ment and co-ordination of public library facilities [thro]ughout the Territory. He will develop policies and [pro]cedures and provide technical advice on stock [im]provement programmes, buildings and depart[men]tal technical libraries.
[Qual]ifications: Appropriate university degree to[gethe]r with Associateship of Library Association qual[ificat]ion. Several years' executive experience in a pub[lic lib]rary.
[Salar]y: $A6909—$A7788 per year plus District Allow[ance] of $A650 per year for married officers and [$A3]0 per year for single officers. ($A1=9/4).
[Cond]itions: First class passages, by sea or air, for the [succ]essful applicant and his dependants, together with [gen]erous baggage allowance. Salary paid from date [of] embarkation.
[Six] weeks' recreation leave per year plus a first class [retu]rn air fare to any Australian capital city every two [years] for self and dependants. Cumulative sick leave [prov]isions and comprehensive superannuation scheme.
[Acc]ommodation: Single or married accommodation [will] be available on arrival in Darwin.
[Tax]ation: A concession of $A540 per year plus an [amo]unt equal to half the total deductions for depen[dan]ts, may be allowable if the officer is resident in [Dar]win for six months in any one financial year.
[App]lications:
[The] Recruitment Officer,
[Offi]ce of the Public Service Board,
[Can]berra House,
[1]6 Maltravers Street, Strand,
[LO]NDON W.C.2. England.

TECHNICAL LIBRARIAN

[Appl]ications are invited for the above post in the library [of o]ur laboratories in South London.
[The] Library serves over 250 research staff of the engin[eerin]g group, chemistry, physics and operational re[searc]h departments, in addition activities covering the [technic]al interests of the iron and steel industry.
[The m]ain duties will be to provide a comprehensive [refere]nce service and to maintain, and develop as re[quired,] existing procedures for classification, indexing [and p]urchases and inter-library loans.
[The p]ost offers a young qualified librarian an oppor[tunity t]o gain experience in a special library. Consider[ation w]ill also be given to persons with approved experi[ence in] special library work and/or having passed the [Librar]y Association's Part II examination.
[Applic]ations stating age, present salary and brief [details] of experience and qualifications to:—
[...]B. Driver
[Perso]nnel Officer
[B.S.C.]A. The Corporate Laboratories
[British] Steel Corporation
[Buck]ingham Gate
[London] SW1.
[Please] quote reference number 1NF/SH/1 in your reply

LINCOLNSHIRE ARCHIVES COMMITTEE

COUNTY ARCHIVIST

[The pos]t of County Archivist at the Lincolnshire Archives [Office,] The Castle, Lincoln (which incorporates the Lincoln Diocesan Record Office) will fall vacant [in] May next. Duties include the administration of the [cur]rent records of the constituent authorities, the [Parts of] Holland, Kesteven and Lindsey, County of Lin[coln a]nd the City of Lincoln; of the Lincoln diocesan, [capitu]lar and probate records; of various classes of [deposit]ed private, estate, parish, business and drainage [records] and of an historical reference library. Applicants [must be] university graduates with considerable experi[ence in] a senior position in a record office. Experience [of medi]eval ecclesiastical archives is essential. The [present] staff includes four assistant archivists.
[Salary i]n the grade Principal Officers' Range 1 (£2,751-[...]). Application forms (returnable by 19th February) [ma]y be obtained from the Clerk to the Archives [Committ]ee, County Offices, Sleaford, Lincs.

VACANT APPOINTMENTS AND PUBLIC NOTICES &c

ABERDEEN COUNTY COUNCIL
EDUCATION COMMITTEE
COUNTY LIBRARY

Applications are invited from CHARTERED LIBRARIANS for a post of

SENIOR ASSISTANT

with special responsibility for the music and arts departments of the County Library Service which has a stock at present of 4,000 records and 500 prints. Salary scale: Chartered Librarians' Scale, £1,413-£1,776.
Further information and application forms may be had from the County Librarian, County Library, 14 Crown Terrace, Aberdeen, AB9 2BH, to whom applications with names of two referees, should be returned by 5th February, 1971.

JAMES A. D. MICHIE,
Director of Education

COVENTRY COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

Salary Scale: A.P. 2/3
£1,272-£1,776
(Chartered Librarian £1,515-£1,776)
Candidates should have relevant library experience.
Application forms and further particulars from:
The Principal
Coventry College of Education,
Kirby Corner Road,
Coventry, CV4 8EE.
Completed forms to be returned by 5th February.

University of Amsterdam

Faculty of Letters.
Applications are invited for the post of

reader
in the theory of literature

tenable from 1 September 1971.
The person appointed will be entrusted with teaching and research in the general field of literary theory within the Graduate Department of General Literary Studies.
Those wishing either to apply for the post themselves or to call attention to possible candidates are invited to submit full particulars to the Chairman of the Faculty of Letters, Keizersgracht 327, Amsterdam 1001, The Netherlands, before 1 March 1971.
A short-term appointment (for example for two years) is possible. Knowledge of Dutch is not required.

Salary scale: f 36.500,— to f 53.000,—
$ 10000,— to $ 15000,—
£ 4250,— to £ 6200,—
per annum gross; the starting position on the scale will be determined on the basis of age and experience.

ULSTER COLLEGE
THE NORTHERN IRELAND POLYTECHNIC

Director: Derek Birley, M.A.

College of Art and Design

LIBRARIAN/LECTURER

Senior Lecturer Scale £2,537-£2,872

The Polytechnic is a new venture and offers a unique opportunity for teachers to participate in its planning and development. The Colleges of Art and Design will be one of five constituent colleges.

The Librarian/Lecturer will be responsible for all aspects of the College of Art and Design Library and will also be asked to undertake some relevant teaching. He or she should hold an Associateship of the Library Association or Diploma in Library Studies and should preferably also have a degree

Application forms and further particulars from the Establishment Officer, Ulster College, The Northern Ireland Polytechnic, (temporary address) Dunmore, Alexandra Park Avenue, Belfast BT15 3GD.
Please quote reference: L/L-TL.

House of Commons Library
Research Division

Statistician/Economist

A graduate is required for a post as Library Clerk or Senior Library Clerk to carry out research for Members of Parliament; participate in the general work of a busy legislative library; and provide responsible and impartial assistance over a wide range of current affairs.

The post is open to men and women aged under 37 with a good honours or post-graduate degree. Subjects should include statistics, preferably combined with economics; but graduates in economics alone, or those in whose degrees economics played a substantial part, will be considered.

FINAL YEAR STUDENTS may apply.

SALARY: Library Clerk, £1,287-£2,107; Senior Library Clerk (aged 28 or above), £2,318-£3,778. Starting salary may be above minimum. Night duty allowance of up to £415 where applicable. Promotion prospects. Non-contributory pension.

WRITE to Civil Service Commission, Alencon Link, Basingstoke, Hants., or telephone BASINGSTOKE 29222, ext. 500 or LONDON 01-734 6464 (24-hour "Ansafone" service), for application form, quoting 7653/71. Closing date 15th February, 1971.

DERBYSHIRE COUNTY LIBRARY

Applications are invited from Chartered Librarians or students who have recently completed their examinations for a post as Assistant Librarian in the East Division of the County Library service.
Salary for the post is within the scale for professional librarians £1,317-£1,515 (bar)-£1,776, the starting point to depend on qualifications and experience. Further details may be obtained from the County Librarian, County Offices, Matlock, to whom applications (no forms) must be submitted not later than 8th February, 1971.
Applications are also invited from suitably qualified librarians for posts of Bibliographical Officer (A.P. IV £1,776-£2,025) in the North West Division. The Bibliographical Officer will be a member of a team of professional staff concerned with the maintenance and development of the service in the Division. His responsibilities include selection and distribution of stock and overall control of the request service. The Headquarters of the North West Division (population 81,760) is at Buxton. Further details from the County Librarian, County Offices, Matlock, to whom applications (no forms) should be submitted not later than 8th February, 1971.

SURREY COUNTY COUNCIL
COUNTY LIBRARY

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons for the undermentioned posts in the County Library:—
1. ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN HEADQUARTERS, ESHER
Grade A.P. 4, £1,776-£2,025 plus £90 London Allowance.
*2. BRANCH LIBRARIAN MOLESEY, ESHER
3. BRANCH LIBRARIAN WALTON & WEYBRIDGE
4. ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN LEATHERHEAD
5. ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN DORKING
*6. CHILDREN'S LIBRARIAN ESHER
*7. ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN STAINES
Posts 2-7 are on the Librarian's Grade.
Salary, £1,038 - £1,515/£1,776 plus £90 London Allowance where applicable*.
Staines post is subject to a responsibility bar at £1,515 basic.
Applicants for post 1 must be Chartered Librarians.
Generous re-location expenses available in approved cases.
Further particulars are obtainable from the County Librarian, 140 High Street, Esher, Surrey, to whom applications should be sent within 14 days of the appearance of this advertisement.

LONDON BOROUGH OF SUTTON
Education Department—Libraries Division

CHILDREN'S LIBRARIAN

Salary: Special Grade (Librarians) £1,128 to £1,866 per annum including London Weighting.

Chartered Librarian preferred (minimum starting salary £1,605), but candidates holding part II of the Library Association Examination (minimum starting salary £1,407) will also be considered.

Progress beyond the Bar (£1,605 inclusive) will be dependent upon the holder of the post being a Chartered Librarian.

The person appointed will assume duties initially at the modern Cheam Branch library.

Further information and application forms (returnable within 14 days of the first appearance of this advertisement) obtainable from Roy Smith, F.L.A., Borough Librarian, Central Library, Manor Park Road, Sutton, Surrey.

T. M. H. Scott,
Principal Chief Officer.